

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

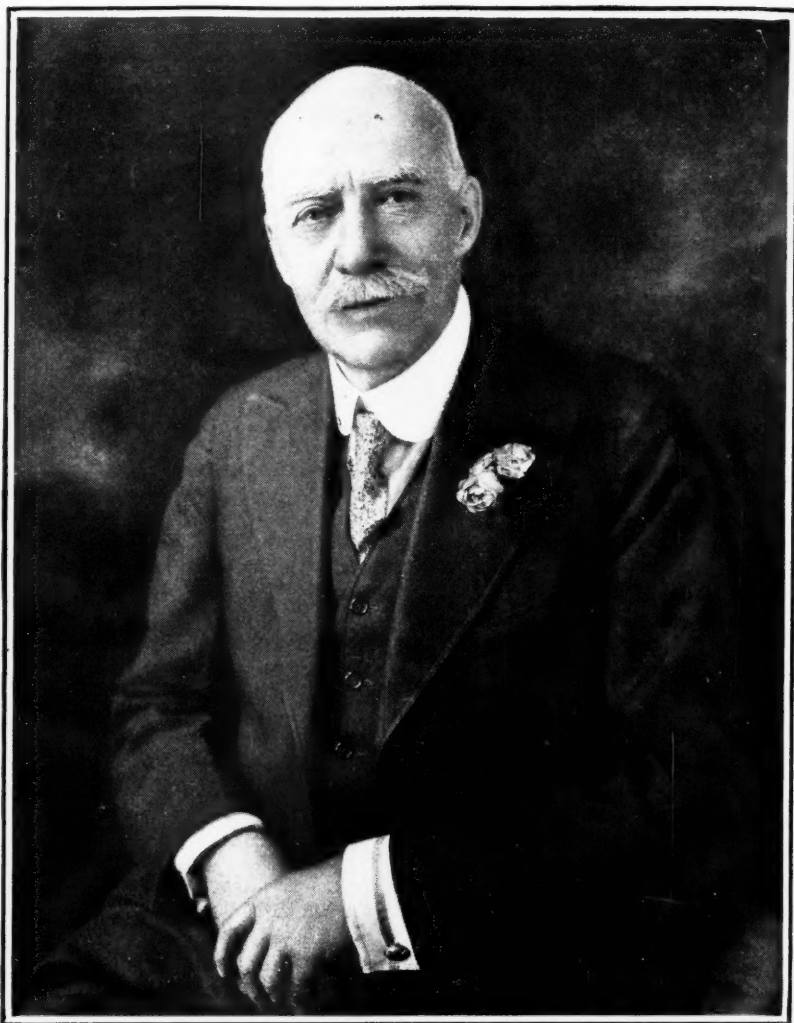
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THE LATE DR. ORISON SWETT MARDEN, TEACHER OF OPTIMISM

(Dr. Marden, in his seventy-fifth year—active and uncomplaining though in broken health—died on March 10 in California, only a few days after his friends in New York had given him a notable reception at the Aldine Club, of which he had for many years been president. Besides founding and editing the well-known magazine called *Success*, Dr. Marden had written more than fifty books intended to inspire courage, self-help, and the cultivation of high character. A modest and retiring American, he could hardly realize the extent of his influence. His books had been translated into many languages, and in recent years they have taken a remarkable hold upon readers in the Latinic countries, especially in Spain and South America and in Italy. Since the war, Germany has been reading Dr. Marden's books to the extent of more than half a million copies. Not only has the Marden philosophy of hope, courage, and right conduct been influencing the youth of America and Europe, but it has been exerting a wholesome influence in the Orient, especially in Japan. Dr. Marden had been left a friendless orphan at a very early age in New England, and had worked his way to the position of a man of education and standing, through the patient conquest of almost countless obstacles and hardships)

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THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

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THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

An Inquiry Somewhat Adrift

With the fourth of March, the present Congress had completed half of its two-year term, and there remained for Mr. Coolidge and the Republican Administration precisely one year of official responsibility. Those who had hoped in February that March would open with a rapid clearing of the legislative and political atmosphere at Washington were disappointed. The Senate investigation of the naval oil leases had drifted from main issues and important phases to a multiplicity of personal details in the attempt to involve a great many people in a network of scandal. Unfortunately, this was diverting the public mind from the one matter of prime consequence. The issue at stake was the turning over of the naval oil reserve lands for private exploitation by the joint action of the Navy and Interior departments. In following the by-paths of gossip, the Committee was giving the accused a much desired opportunity to disseminate misleading information, and to confuse the public on the very point that should have been kept prominent and made increasingly clear. Upon the whole, the investigation has been performing a valuable service; but its attempts at the incidental manufacture of campaign material have been detrimental rather than useful.

The One Important Disclosure

Early in the investigation, it had been found that the naval oil reserves had been leased to Mr. Doheny and Mr. Sinclair (as heads of great oil-producing companies) through the urgent activity of Mr. Fall as Secretary of the Interior. It was learned that President Harding had been persuaded to issue an executive order turning over the admin-

istration of the reserved naval oil lands from the Navy Department to the Interior Department. The Secretary of the Navy, Mr. Denby, had acquiesced in this transfer, and had given his full support to Mr. Fall's policy of leasing. It is reasonable to believe that President Harding was entirely misled. There was no authority in law for the transfer of jurisdiction from the Navy Department to the Interior Department. Neither was there the slightest excuse for the practical policy that was adopted of proceeding with great haste to take the naval oil out of the ground. These were the pertinent things that the Senate brought to public notice.

Pending Suits to Cancel Leases

Meanwhile, the Government's special counsel, Messrs. Owen J. Roberts and Atlee Pomerene, have been dealing with the essential situation; and on March 13, at Cheyenne, Wyoming, they secured from Federal Judge Kennedy an injunction that restrains the Mammoth Oil Company from further immediate operations under the Teapot Dome lease. Rear Admiral Joseph Strauss, of the Navy, and Mr. A. E. Watts, a vice-president of the Sinclair corporations, were made joint receivers by common consent. The Government's attorneys held that the lease was void because it had been made by Albert B. Fall for "an inadequate, improper, and fraudulent consideration," and further because it was "without authority of law." If a final decree is granted, as asked by the Government, the leases will be permanently cancelled, the properties will be returned to naval jurisdiction, and an accounting will have to be rendered. Messrs. Roberts and Pomerene, after this proceeding at Cheyenne, went to Los Angeles, to begin action on



REAR ADMIRAL JOSEPH STRAUSS, APPOINTED
GOVERNMENT RECEIVER FOR TEAPOT DOME
RESERVE

Admiral Strauss, who was born in New York in 1861, graduated at the Naval Academy in 1885 and has had a distinguished career as a naval officer and an inventor and as an authority upon various problems of naval armament. It was he who laid the mine barrage across the North Sea from Norway to Scotland, planting over 56,000 American mines, and he afterwards commanded the expedition that cleared the North Sea, becoming commander-in-chief of the Asiatic Fleet in 1921.

Monday, the 17th, for cancellation of Do-heny leases. The litigation thus begun will of necessity continue through a number of weeks or months to come. These steps to protect Government property would not have been taken but for the energy shown by Senator Walsh and his colleagues of the investigating committee; but the obvious fact should now be recognized that the main issues are no longer in the Senate but in the courts.

*Helping
the Oil
Market*

These leases were made, and the exploitation of the naval fields was entered upon, at a time when there was great over-production of oil in California, and when the navy could buy fuel oil in abundance at advantageous prices. One phase of this business seems to have been overlooked in the discussions. The discovery and opening of new oil fields like Signal Hill, near Los Angeles, was resulting in such over-production as to break the

market for crude oil. But if the navy could be induced to enter upon a policy of tank construction and oil storage on a vast scale, so large a customer as Uncle Sam would not only help to sustain the market but would also provide physical means of relief in view of the fact that it was virtually impossible for private companies to provide storage enough to take care of the surplus oil that the rival interests were producing. The naval oil reserves had been set aside to meet some situation, perhaps fifty years hence, when conditions might be exactly the opposite of those that have recently prevailed. While fuel oil was superabundant, as it has recently been, there could have been no intelligent public reason for the policy that Mr. Fall entered upon, under the urgent pressure of interests that desired to get control of the naval reserves.

*Uncle Sam
Providing
Storage*

Not only were these interests seeking great wealth from the direct exploitation of these reserves, but they might also hope to derive indirect though marked benefit from the stabilization of the oil market by persuading the navy to enter upon an enormous project of oil storage at Pearl Harbor and elsewhere that Congress had not authorized. These are the outstanding facts, and they involve official misconduct. Great audacity has been shown during the past month in the attempt to confuse the public mind about these leases of the naval reserves. Oil leases by previous Secretaries of the Interior were made on the public domain under the terms of the general leasing act. The two things have not the slightest relation to one another; yet it is possible to make them seem to be comparable if one is dishonest enough to suppress the fundamental distinction. After long discussion, it should be remembered, Congress had enacted a general leasing law under which coal, oil, and other specified stores of natural wealth could be taken from the public domain on a royalty basis, under the administration of the Interior Department.

*What were
the Impelling
Motives?*

The whole object of creating the naval oil reserves, and of putting them under the jurisdiction of the Secretary of the Navy, was to prevent such specified areas from being subjected to the terms of the general leasing act. To throw them back to the Interior Department and to proceed to lease them

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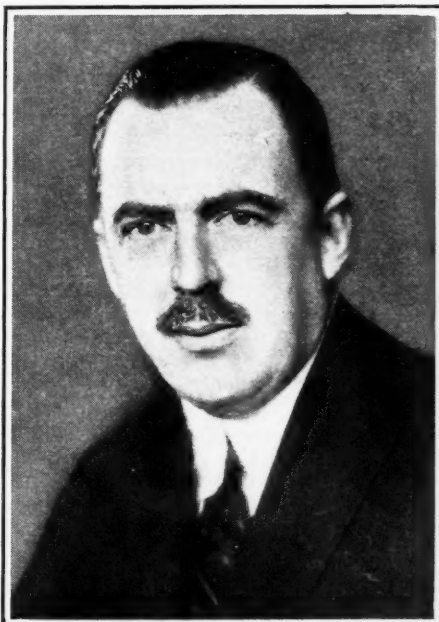
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without any authority of law, and without any reason or excuse growing out of public needs or emergencies, was so extraordinary a thing that the Senate's investigation is justified in seeking for motives. Mr. Fall, as will be remembered, had retired from the Cabinet on March 4, 1923. The Senate had been trying to get at the facts at the instigation of Mr. LaFollette and others, but without making much headway, when information from New Mexico as regards evidences of his sudden affluence began to bring Mr. Fall's personal and private affairs under closer scrutiny. The former Secretary had been spending a great deal of money in the improvement of his ranch and in other ways, and he informed the Senate committee that he had received a loan from a wealthy personal friend whom he finally identified as Mr. Edward B. McLean, the hospitable multi-millionaire who inherited his wealth from the late John R. McLean, owner of the Cincinnati *Enquirer* and the Washington *Post*.

*An Obliging
Friend of
Public Men*

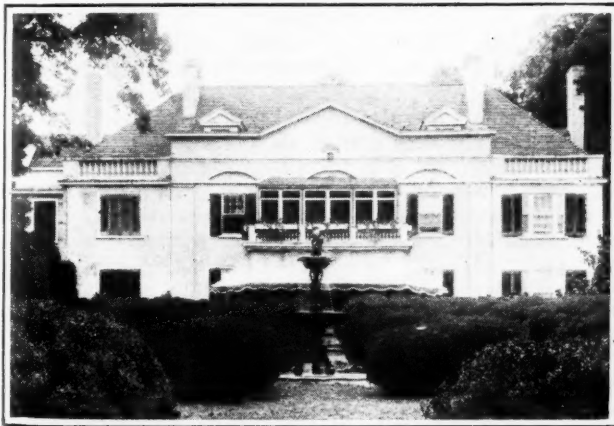
Mr. McLean is still a young man, more amiable than hard-headed and wise; and his wife, who was Miss Evelyn Walsh, daughter of a very wealthy Colorado mine owner who had lived in Washington during his last years, is a hostess whose kindly qualities are a matter of public knowledge. We dislike these personalities, but since the affairs of the McLeans have occupied the



MR. EDWARD BEALE MCLEAN, PROPRIETOR OF THE WASHINGTON "POST"

United States Senate through many long days during the past month, and have been spread before the country in the newspapers at an aggregate expense of many millions of dollars, we may be permitted to say just enough to try to set their case in an under-

standable light. President and Mrs. Harding were intimate friends of the McLeans, and the President was their guest in Florida as well as a frequent visitor in their Washington home; while Mrs. Harding, after the President's funeral, as all readers will remember, spent some time under the McLean roof-tree while completing the sad business of transferring her effects and affairs from the White House to Ohio. Naturally, the McLeans had become intimate with Mr. Harding's official and personal associates, including Mr. Daugherty and Mr. Fall.



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FRIENDSHIP, THE SUBURBAN HOME OF MR. MCLEAN, NEAR WASHINGTON

(This photograph does scant justice to the charming retreat where President and Mrs. Harding were so much at home, and where Mr. McLean has a private golf course besides an ample stable and many other resources of country life)

*The Owner-
of a Leading
Newspaper*

Secretary Fall had been regarded at Washington as a public man of exceptional ability, a lawyer of eminence, and an authority on foreign affairs. It is even said that Senator Lodge was one of the many influential personages who recommended Mr. Fall to President Harding for the post for which the President chose Mr. Hughes. We shall understand these Washington affairs better if we can but remember that human nature in Washington is very much like that in Montana or Kentucky or anywhere else in the United States. That the McLean family were affectionate and wholly loyal in their regard for President and Mrs. Harding, and felt some pride in their intimate relations with a President who was so beloved and so popular everywhere, ought to be easily understood. Secretary Fall was a man occupying a high post, who had been a leader in the Senate and had been Attorney-General of his State and a member of its Supreme Bench. Mr. McLean was not a trained newspaper man when his father died, soon after which he came into a nominal editorship of the *Washington Post*, this being a part of the estate that he inherited. He was, in the nature of the case, susceptible to the influence of eminent political personages in the Cabinet or in Congress.

*Secretary Fall
as a Polit-
ical Type*

Secretary Fall was a man past the age of sixty, and things had begun to go badly with him in his personal affairs. Mr. Fall comes from a part of the world in which politics for a long time past has been more or less dominated by private interests concerned in one way or in another with the speculative control of natural resources, whether grazing lands or forests, whether oil or minerals. Mr. Fall had been concerned, like other American speculators, with the development of resources across the border in Mexico. His general point of view was bound to be sympathetic with that of the Dohenys and Sinclairs rather than with that of the rigid conservationists, of whom Governor Pinchot and former Secretary James Garfield are examples. It is quite conceivable that Mr. Fall would have acted exactly as he did act in the matter of the naval oil leases, even if his own affairs had been so prosperous that he could have felt no need of accepting loans or favors from Doheny or Sinclair. But, to under-

stand men of a certain type, we must have in mind that sort of admixture of politics, business, and friendship that is so familiar an American compound. Men like Mr. Fall, Mr. Doheny, Mr. Sinclair, Mr. Daugherty, and many others less prominent, seem to rely in all the vicissitudes of their careers upon this peculiar blend of friendship, politics and business.

*A Painful
Test of
Friendship*

There is not to be found any code of public or private morals that would prevent a man of Secretary Fall's type from leasing the public domain to his friends, and then accepting gifts in the form of loans. All these men would stoutly aver that the loans were a matter of friendship and had nothing to do with the oil leases. As for young Mr. McLean, no one supposes that his interest in Fall had anything to do with the business affairs of Doheny or Sinclair. The researches of the Senate committee had unexpectedly involved Fall in desperate embarrassments. It was hard upon McLean to be put in the position of pretending to have loaned money to an aged statesman in order to throw the inquisitors off the track. He was assured that if he would but casually support the falsehood when mentioned as the lender of \$100,000, nobody would question his word; so Mr. McLean withdrew to his usual winter home in Florida and thought himself well out of the Washington mess. But, as the investigation proceeded, he began to realize that he might be called back to Washington to testify under oath. Then followed a correspondence between Palm Beach and Washington that had its tragical aspects for Mr. McLean, though it has had its comical aspects as innumerable telegrams—many of them in cipher—have been made the basis of Senator Walsh's cross examination of McLean's agents, secretaries, editors, lawyers, and retainers in general.

*Palm Beach
a Vain
Refuge*

It all becomes simple enough when the main fact is kept in mind, that McLean was merely trying to use all the influence possible to prevent the Senate committee from compelling him to come to Washington and testify. The innocent reader of hundreds of columns of these telegrams and the testimony of the various McLean employees might well wonder why the committee did not adopt the short cut at once and cross-

examine McLean. A single word will explain it all. This is a political year, and the committee was trying to see how many people could be involved as having been giving more or less aid to McLean in his desperate efforts to avoid testifying. Senator Walsh, as will be remembered, had gone to Palm Beach clothed with special authority to put McLean on oath, and had returned with the admission from McLean that it was not his money that had been borrowed by Mr. Fall, while Sinclair had admitted under oath having advanced \$25,000 and Doheny had acknowledged a loan of \$100,000, which had been paid in cash rather than by check under very peculiar circumstances. Secretary Fall had merely put Mr. McLean in a very bad position, and had not had the grace to come forward with the truth to the extent of relieving the embarrassment of his friend.

*A Farce
or a
Tragedy?*

So far as the McLean episode goes, it has seemed a good deal more like a performance on the stage with a farcical plot than like an episode in the public business of this great republic. Among other things brought out in the McLean telegraphic correspondence, it appeared that President Coolidge had acknowledged messages from Mr. McLean. Evidently it was desired in certain political quarters to involve the President himself. The average citizen should remember that hundreds and thousands of letters and messages are acknowledged for the President by the White House staff, and that it would be physically impossible for the President, who has much serious business to transact, to conduct routine correspondence without a great deal of help. Thus, if the proprietor of an important Washington newspaper telegraphs from Florida that he admires Mr. Coolidge's Lincoln Day speech, it is likely enough that an acknowledgment may be made in Mr. Coolidge's name by trained secretaries, whether or not Mr. Coolidge has ever been made aware of the congratulatory message. When once it is kept in mind that the whole object of the McLean correspondence turned upon his natural desire to avoid testifying before the committee after he had been so foolish as to allow himself to be placed in a false position, the details for the most part lose all importance. There were many sidelights, of course, that had their value for careful students of our public life.



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HON. HARRY M. DAUGHERTY, ATTORNEY-GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES

(Mr. Daugherty began law practice at his birthplace, Washington Court House, Ohio, in 1881 on reaching legal age. Twelve years later he established a law firm at Columbus, which he maintained for about thirty years. He had served a short time in the Ohio legislature while still living at Washington Court House. His next public office was that of Attorney-General of the United States, which post he has occupied for the past three years)

*The Case
of Mr.
Daugherty*

The effort to implicate Attorney-General Daugherty was far more genuine than any casual excursions in the direction of the White House. Mr. Daugherty had been a long-time friend and associate of President Harding in Ohio politics, and had been the successful manager of Mr. Harding's comparatively unpromising candidacy for the nomination at Chicago as against such powerful candidacies as those of General Wood and Governor Lowden. Undoubtedly Mr. Daugherty greatly desired the honor of being Attorney-General; and it did not lie in Mr. Harding's nature to disappoint his friend. Furthermore, Mr. Daugherty was strongly determined to make a fine record in the Attorney-General's office, and President Harding was glad to take Daugherty at his own valuation. The appointment had been so strictly personal in its character that it would have been fortunate



THE SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE NAMED TO INVESTIGATE THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

From left to right are: Burton K. Wheeler (Dem., Mont.), George H. Moses (Rep., N. H.), Smith W. Brookhart (Rep., Iowa), Chairman, Wesley L. Jones (Rep., Wash.), and Henry F. Ashurst (Dem., Ariz.)

for Mr. Daugherty and everybody concerned if he had insisted upon retiring as soon as possible after the death of the President. But he was in the midst of some exceedingly important public business, and it is only fair to say that he was ambitious, as a lawyer and a Cabinet officer, to carry certain cases to a conclusion that would win public approval for his conduct of the office.

*Investigating
the Department
of Justice*

With Fall and Denby out of the original Harding Cabinet, the Senate was determined to force the retirement of Daugherty. President Coolidge had resented the vote of the Senate which had demanded the resignation of Denby, and he was not inclined to accept dictation regarding Daugherty. On March 2, the Senate voted (66 to 1) to investigate Attorney-General Daugherty and the Department of Justice, after a discussion which showed no disposition to defend Daugherty except on the part of the Senators from the Attorney-General's own State. Previously it had been reported that Daugherty's immediate retirement was certain as a result of conferences with the President. But after the Senate vote Mr. Daugherty took the ground that he would not resign under fire but would stay in office while the Senate was investigating his administration. It would be hard to discover any moment in the history of the Department of Justice when the public business so urgently required an Attorney-General not only of the highest type of legal ability and executive efficiency, but one who possessed the entire confidence of the country.

*Clinging to
Office While
"Under Fire"*

The attacks upon Mr. Daugherty did not begin with the vote of the Senate, which came rather as the culmination than as the beginning. However undeserved these attacks may be, the Attorney-General has been on the defensive for a considerable time, and he must of necessity be occupied with his own affairs while under investigation. There are many reasons why an Attorney-General of the United States ought not to have legal or political battles of his own to fight while he is charged with vast public responsibilities and is in control of a great mechanism of law enforcement, including the Secret Service of the United States. Under such circumstances, a mere committee of the United States Senate would seem at a disadvantage as against the ability of an Attorney-General to protect himself at the public expense. Mr. Daugherty, if out of office, would still have at his command every proper facility for defending himself against accusations. Meanwhile, the public business of the United States cannot be carried on efficiently when both parties in the United States Senate are unanimous in their belief that the Attorney-General's conduct of his office requires legislative investigation.

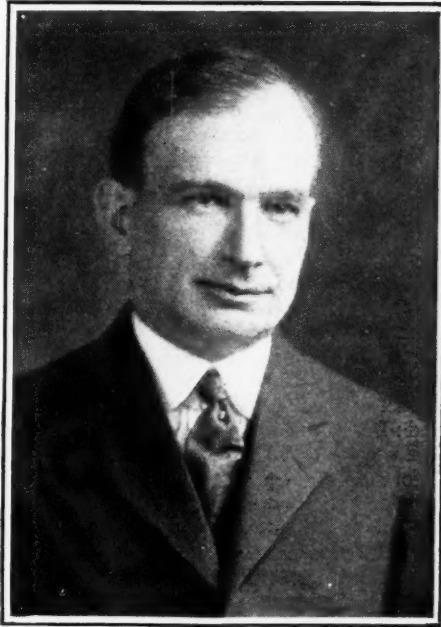
*A Highly
Unpleasant
Proceeding*

The most bitter attacks upon Mr. Daugherty's character were made by Senator Wheeler of Montana, the younger and less experienced colleague of Senator Walsh, who has conducted the oil investigation. A special committee was named to investigate the Department of Justice, consisting of Senator Brookhart of Iowa as chairman, with

Senator Wheeler (Dem.) of Montana, Senator Moses (Rep.) of New Hampshire, Senator Jones (Rep.) of Washington, and Senator Ashurst (Dem.) of Arizona. Senator Wheeler was allowed to serve as chief inquisitor. It was not clear in advance that anything could be accomplished by this investigation. If conducted on the lines of the oil inquiry, it could drag itself out through long months without exhausting the resources of gossip and scandal. If there was any evidence of "crimes and misdemeanors," impeachment proceedings should have been instituted against the Attorney-General. If, on the other hand, the object of the inquiry was to show that the Department of Justice ought to have been run more efficiently, or to bring to light various things about Daugherty's associations and activities that had an unpleasant look, the inquiry was unlikely to lead to any definite conclusions. The office of Attorney-General should be so filled that the Department of Justice could not by any possibility be dragged through this sort of tedious and probably futile attempt to make a case where there should be no need of making a case. The President is wholly responsible for the conduct of all executive business, and Mr. Coolidge has had no intention to evade his duties.

*Is Our
System
at Fault?*

There are those who are inclined to think that the unhappy conditions in Washington are in some way due to defects of our political system. Doubtless in many ways our machinery of government might be improved; but the main fault is not with the machinery. There are others who think that transitions between public and private occupation are too frequent with us, and that we ought to develop something more in the nature of a ruling class. But here again the arguments are all in favor of our democratic system. In the training schools of our local and state governments, we are constantly bringing forward new bodies of citizens capable of filling public office acceptably. Moreover, in no other country are so many young men now taught, in schools and colleges, the science of government. We shall continue to put private citizens in high office, and to bring able officials back to the alluring opportunities that await them, with their official fame and prestige, in the spheres of professional or business life.



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SENATOR BURTON K. WHEELER, OF MONTANA
(Who proposed the Senate investigation of the Department of Justice)

*Office
Not a
Perquisite*

What we need is a higher standard of conduct, whether in public or private affairs, and a sounder view of the nature of public office. Mr. Harding's appointments in the main were admirable; but no President since Andrew Jackson has completely emancipated himself from the evil tradition that to the victor belong the spoils. When Mr. Harding chose Mr. Mellon for the Treasury, he was bent upon securing financial ability of a high order. In making Mr. Hughes Secretary of State, he was undoubtedly aiming at the ablest possible administration of our diplomatic affairs. Mr. Hoover and Mr. Wallace were chosen for their especial qualifications. When Judge Towner was named for the governorship of Porto Rico, following the appointment of General Wood to the position that he occupies in the Philippines, Mr. Harding was drafting the best available man for that responsible post. But when a certain man was put at the head of the Veterans' Bureau, with its thousands of invalid soldiers to be cared for and its hundreds of millions of dollars to be spent, a different principle seems to have been followed, with most disastrous results. It may sound like a counsel of perfection

—or like a hard saying that no American politician could be expected to accept—yet it is the plain truth that there is no public office whatsoever that belongs to the President or to any other appointing officer for treatment as a personal perquisite or as a means of rewarding partisan or private services.

*No Excuse
for Personal
Appointments*

We have been fortunate upon the whole in our Presidents, and it would seem reasonable to say that the tendency is steadily away from the use of offices for party spoils or personal rewards. We have, also, in most respects a good government; and what is needed is constant vigilance to keep it good and make it better. We are no longer living in a period of leaders and followers. Never before were there so many well-instructed people, and never so few who stood out as preëminent in superiority. The good citizen cannot, therefore, lay aside his responsibilities and trust implicitly to great men in office. Within proper bounds, we are undoubtedly wise to maintain the party system, but parties should be a means to good government rather than a scheme for making government serve partisan or personal ends. Nobody is good enough to be Secretary of State except the ablest man who can be found for the position; yet no man is able enough to fill that position safely without the effort of every intelligent person to create a sound and enlightened public opinion, bearing upon the major problems of international policy. It is almost inconceivable in a country like ours, in view of the magnitude of the interests involved, that anyone should think that the Department of Justice could be properly manned without the services of men of the highest ability and standing. There should be no more reason for a legislative investigation of the Department of Justice than for an investigation of the Supreme Court based upon charges against the honor and integrity of its members.

*Mr. Coolidge
on His Own
Merits*

Although President Coolidge's methods are not dashing, they have impressed the country as altogether firm and sincere, honest and patient. That he is not losing the confidence of the country has been evident from day to day. It will be easier next month to sum up the details as to convention prospects, but it is not too early to predict that

Mr. Coolidge's nomination at Cleveland will be easily secured on the first ballot, even if it is not granted by acclamation. Let it be admitted that the naval oil leases were made by Republican officials; yet it must also be admitted that they were exposed in a Republican Congress, investigated under the Republican chairman of the Public Lands Committee, and assailed before the courts by eminent legal counsel retained by a Republican President. The voters will have to decide next November whether they prefer to give President Coolidge another term of authority or to elect a Democratic President. But, so far as parties are concerned, the thoughtful and broad-minded citizen will realize that the faults and mistakes of a situation that everybody is trying to clear up cannot be charged to one party or the other, but are incident to the period in which we are living. The hopeful thing is that our public opinion does not condone these mistakes, and that our official bodies at Washington are trying to remedy what has been done. Mr. Coolidge will have become something more than the "logical" candidate, before July.

*Mixing
Business and
Politics*

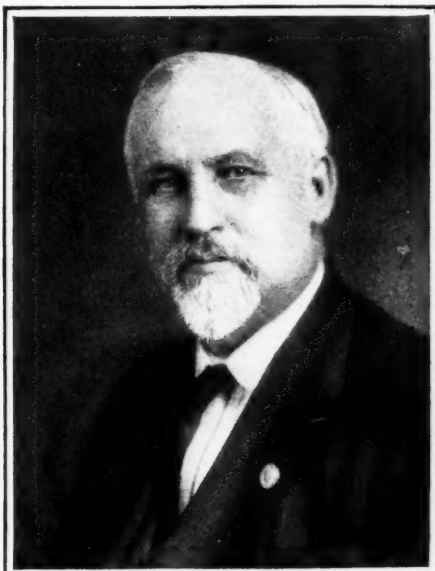
From an early period, the development of the United States has, as we remarked last month, been highly speculative; and our history is one long record of incidents relating to the contacts between Government and private business. The early politics of canals and turnpikes, and the later politics of railroad land-grants furnish many instances. The point of view of the frontier has always been too eager and speculative to furnish a safe guide in matters of public policy relating to national resources. Unscrupulous conduct is not to be condoned; nor should there be any leniency toward the bribery of officials. But it is well to remember that—taking their careers as they had been generally estimated—men like Messrs. Doheny and Sinclair have belonged to the succession of adventurous leaders in the development of natural resources whose names are synonymous with success, and whose financial achievements have given them international reputations. If they had lived in England, we should have expected a good while ago to see Doheny and Sinclair in the House of Lords, just as we should have expected to see peerages conferred upon the fathers of both Mr. McLean and Mrs. McLean.



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SENATOR IRVINE L. LENROOT OF WISCONSIN

(Senator Lenroot's career in Wisconsin politics and legislation has made him one of the most influential and prominent Republican leaders of the Northwest. After ten years' service in the House of Representatives he was elected to fill a vacancy in the Senate in 1918, and was reelected for a full term in 1920. He is Chairman of the Committee on Public Lands)



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SENATOR EDWIN F. LADD OF NORTH DAKOTA

(Senator Ladd, who succeeds Mr. Lenroot as chairman of the oil investigating committee, is a son of Maine who made a fine record at the New York Agricultural College as chief chemist and who went to the North Dakota Agricultural College in 1890, where he remained for sixteen years, having become president of the institution. He is now serving his second term in the Senate)

*British and
American
Tendencies*

On the other hand, it is not likely that the English system would have brought parliamentary honors or Cabinet positions either to Mr. Daugherty or to Mr. Denby. Mr. Fall, in British surroundings, with his legal talents might have been a law lord, or a respected judge. Under the English system, in times past, the privileged classes have been favored at the expense of the body politic. At present we see a tendency to break down those privileged classes, perhaps a little too rapidly for the best interests of the British nation. As human beings go in this imperfect world, the British are preëminently an honest and well governed nation. And Americans may rightly make similar claims for this country. We are more prone than our British cousins to expose our faults, but we are equally in earnest to apply remedies and to bring public life up to the best standards. It is pleasant to turn away from "investigations" to note the steadily increasing amount of careful and scientific work that our Governments—national, State, and local—are performing. Political morals

are not declining in the English-speaking countries, and the standards of private business life are probably higher than ever before.

*A Delay
Without
Excuse*

On March 11, President Coolidge sent a brief message to Congress, asking for the immediate enactment of a joint resolution providing for a 25 per cent. reduction in income taxes about to become payable for the year 1923. March 15 was the final day for the filing of income tax reports, and for the payment of at least one-fourth of the amount due. Congress had previously indicated its willingness to aid the taxpayer by this method; and the 25 per cent. reduction for 1923 had been included in the general tax measure that had passed the House. Strictly speaking, this proposal to grant relief on the taxes now due for the past year had no relation to a general revision of the income tax system that was to be applied to future years. Under House rules, such a motion as the President demanded could not be introduced on the spur of the moment without unanimous consent. In

the lack of such consent, the taxpayers had to pay the full amount due on March 15, hoping to secure a rebate at some time later on. Business men were justly indignant.

*The House
Compromise
on Surtaxes*

The House had passed the general tax-reduction bill on February 29, with a final vote of 408 in favor and only 8 against. The Mellon tax bill, as originally introduced, had been greatly changed, and the measure as it went through, although nominally shaped by the Republican leaders of the House, was in fact a Democratic victory of the most notable character. The Republican leaders had not found it practicable to make a fight for the Mellon rates, the Radical group having the balance of power and preferring to support the substitute measure offered by Mr. Garner, the Democratic leader. The highest Mellon surtaxes, as proposed, were 25 per cent., while the corresponding Garner rates were 44 per cent. The compromise of the Republican leaders made the highest rates 37½ per cent.; and seventeen Radicals went back to the Republican camp on this so-called "Longworth Compromise." This was probably a more drastic scheme of surtaxes than the Democrats had ever supposed they could force through a Republican House; and of course they gave it their support in the end, so that it went to the Senate with a virtually unanimous backing of all parties and groups.

*War-Time
Methods
Perpetuated*

Nothing but the exigencies of a Great War could justify a tax bill of this kind. In attempting to strike at the possessors of wealth, it is aimed directly at the business prosperity of the country upon which the working people and those of small incomes are vastly more dependent than are the capitalists and the leaders of industry and finance. This compromise bill does not alter the principles of the war tax at all, but merely takes the surtaxes as they stand, and scales them down 25 per cent. President Coolidge and Secretary Mellon have stood manfully at their guns, and preached to the country the doctrine of intelligent and honest taxation. Secretary Mellon's comments on the bill as it went to the Senate have been lucid and sound. He estimates that its enactment would mean a loss of yearly revenue of about \$450,000,000. The bill as passed by the House also greatly

increases the taxes on inheritances; and these ought, except under conditions of dire necessity, to be left to the several States as a means of obtaining local revenue.

*Investigating
the Revenue
Bureau*

Among the numerous Senate investigations that are pending is one ordered on March 12 at the instance of Senator Couzens of Michigan that is to inquire into the methods and operations of the Internal Revenue Bureau, which now collects the great bulk of the Government's income. The committee consists of Senators Couzens, Ernst of Kentucky, and Watson of Indiana, these three being Republicans, and Senators King of Utah and Jones of New Mexico, Democrats. Senator Couzens has believed strongly that the internal revenue system could be greatly improved; and the other four members of this investigating group are on the Senate Finance Committee. It is no fault of the Treasury Department or the Collector of Internal Revenue that the centralized system that exists has involved so much friction and difficulty in actual administration. It may well be that the laws under which this system has been developed could be improved. There are thousands of business men in the country who object far more to the annoyance to which the technicalities of the present system subjects them than they do to the actual payment of their taxes. They are constantly encountering new rulings, so that they find it extremely difficult to keep their books and make up their accounts in such a way as to agree with the requirements of the tax officials.

*The Future
of Private
Property*

As to the controversy about tax exempt securities, Mr. Mellon has shown that the question would settle itself easily enough if in times of peace we should revert to a reasonable and intelligent system of taxation. If at this time a great party in Congress can unite in demanding that incomes above \$92,000 shall pay 44 per cent. to the Government as surtaxes, after having paid the normal taxes, besides being subjected to State and local taxation, then there is nothing in the nature of the case to assure people who have acquired property that Mr. Garner or some other leader may not in future years propose to change the surtax so radically as to take 99 per cent. of the larger incomes while abolishing indirect taxation. It is quite true that the institu-

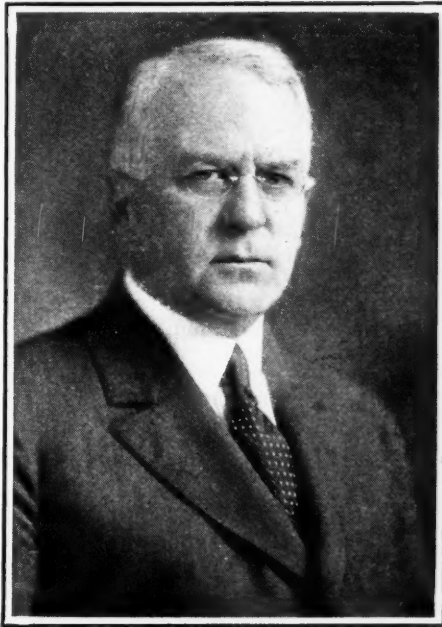
tion of private property, like all other traditional and established things, is of necessity subject to the power of the sovereign people as exercised through their government. But Mr. Garner and the other exponents of extreme surtaxes should frankly recognize the fact that they have entered upon a practical course of procedure in the direction of confiscation that is decidedly more drastic than the famous leaders of socialistic propaganda in Europe were proposing in the nineteenth century.

*The Lesson
of
Russia*

Such projects of taxation cannot stay fixed at given rates or scales. In their very nature, they must move in one direction or the other. We must respect property rights, or increasingly repudiate them. We can use discriminating taxation to break down our present system of privately directed industry much more easily than we can build up a new prosperity on the basis of socialism. Poverty-stricken Russia is painfully trying to find her way back, after an experience which has evidently taught nothing of sound economics to certain legislators at Washington. The well-informed sentiment of the country is strongly in favor of the Mellon rates as shown in many ways, not the least of which is the remarkable poll of the *Literary Digest*. The favorable percentage of this unofficial canvass for a few weeks exceeded 80 per cent., and then fell to less than 69 per cent., from which it began to move up a little, the total votes received up to the middle of March amounting to about two millions. While support of the Mellon plan is strongest in the East, as shown by this test, it is also decisive in every section of the country. It is possible that the Senate may reduce somewhat the rates of the House bill, but there is no longer much reason to hope that the Mellon proposals can be carried through the present Congress. It is evident that if the proposed 25 per cent. reduction on last year's tax bills had been adopted separately, the general tax bill would go to the President on its own merits, and he could feel more free to veto it if he should so desire.

*Pending
Immigration
Measures*

Immigration bills identical in character have been pending at the same time in the two branches of Congress. Each bill was drawn on the plan of limiting the number of immigrants admitted in any one year to 2 per



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SENATOR JAMES COUZENS, OF MICHIGAN

(Mr. Couzens, who was formerly vice-president of the Ford Motor Company, and one of Detroit's most public-spirited citizens, was serving as Mayor when recent political events unexpectedly landed him in the Senate as successor to Mr. Newberry. He is now chairman of a special committee of five that is investigating the organization and methods of the Internal Revenue Bureau.)

cent. of the foreign-born people resident in the United States at a given time. The House committee headed by Mr. Johnson prefers to use the census of 1890, with the frankly admitted object of creating a situation more favorable for our earlier kinds of immigration and less favorable for peoples from the East and South of Europe. A majority of the Senate Committee on Immigration has decided to take the census of 1910 as the basis. Many Senators, regardless of party, would prefer to distribute the quotas on the population facts of 1890. Various phases of the immigration question are under discussion at Washington, and elsewhere throughout the country. The time has come for courageous action looking to the future. A continuation of our earlier immigration policy would, within less than twenty years from now, have transformed the character of the United States for all time. Political pressure excited by foreign "blocs" and selfish interests may prevent suitable action at Washington this year.

*Principles
To Be
Observed*

So far as numbers are concerned, we have already an ample population, and we should in the main rely henceforth upon natural increase. Not only should immigration be severely restricted as regards numbers, but regulations should be far more radical as to quality. There is no possible reason for admitting any immigrant family, from any country whatsoever, if that family cannot be shown by clear and positive tests to be a desirable acquisition. The more liberal this country has been in its policy of offering a free asylum to European peoples, the more assertive have these newcomers been in their racial claims and assumptions. At the present moment, of the large population of the insane asylums of the State of New York, almost a full half are people who were born in Europe and have been dumped upon our shores. A great majority of these are unnaturalized. If children of the foreign-born are included, the State's dependents are mainly of the new stocks. Of the criminal elements in New York, it might not be far amiss to say that nine-tenths are either foreign-born or the children of immigrant parents. It is natural enough that European countries should have been glad to get rid of the worthless dregs of their surplus population; and we have been too ready to assume the burden.

*As to
Population
Elements*

Many of the most useful and valuable citizens of the United States are of Jewish faith or descent, and for them we have only words of praise as neighbors and fellow citizens. But it does not follow that we ought in deference to them to open the gates to additional millions of undesirable Europeans of Jewish faith from the ghettos of Russia or elsewhere. There could not be a finer element of citizenship than Italians at their best; but there are inferior classes of population in Naples and Sicily that Italy does not value, and that we should exclude. The basis of our American population is English; but there are many thousands of undesirable persons in London and the other centers of British population that ought not to be admitted to the United States. An immigration policy that might have been free from serious faults a hundred years ago is not necessarily one that fits our present conditions. We are publishing in this number some timely remarks by Professor Hays on heredity and immigration.

*Aliens and
Political
Privileges*

This question of immigration is closely related to that of naturalization. There is no permanent reason, in the nature of things, why any country should admit aliens to the political privileges of citizenship. A good enough argument could now be made for abolishing the naturalization privilege altogether, conferring citizenship only upon the American-born children of immigrants. But, if that should seem too radical a change, it is at least worth considering whether we should not require ten years residence as a minimum in all cases. Beyond the mere residence requirement, however, naturalization should be made at least as difficult as the passing of a civil-service examination for public employment. There is no earthly reason for admitting a foreigner to the franchise in this country, unless his qualifications are unquestionable as regards intelligence, character, and economic efficiency. We have great problems before us, and it is our duty as well as our right to safeguard the future by doing everything possible to create a consistent American nationality.

*New York
City Opposes
Restriction*

Highly significant was the recent action at Washington of twenty Democratic members of Congress (out of a total of twenty-two) from New York. These twenty united in a strong attack upon the pending restrictive immigration bill. They lauded to the skies the foreign-born elements of our population; and the plain implication of their statement was that they desired as rapidly as possible to complete the work of turning the balance of power in this country over to the foreign-born as against the so-called American stock. Most of these New York Congressmen come from New York City or its vicinity. They represent foreign-born constituencies; and these elements of population are attempting to dictate the country's policy. We have permitted the steamship companies to bring millions of immigrants here, and we have given them citizenship and opportunities of every kind. It is for the best interest of their own American-born children that checks should be imposed upon further floods of undesirable immigration. We have at present no race troubles; and we are doing our best to promote the welfare of everybody who has obtained a foothold upon our shores. This is precisely the

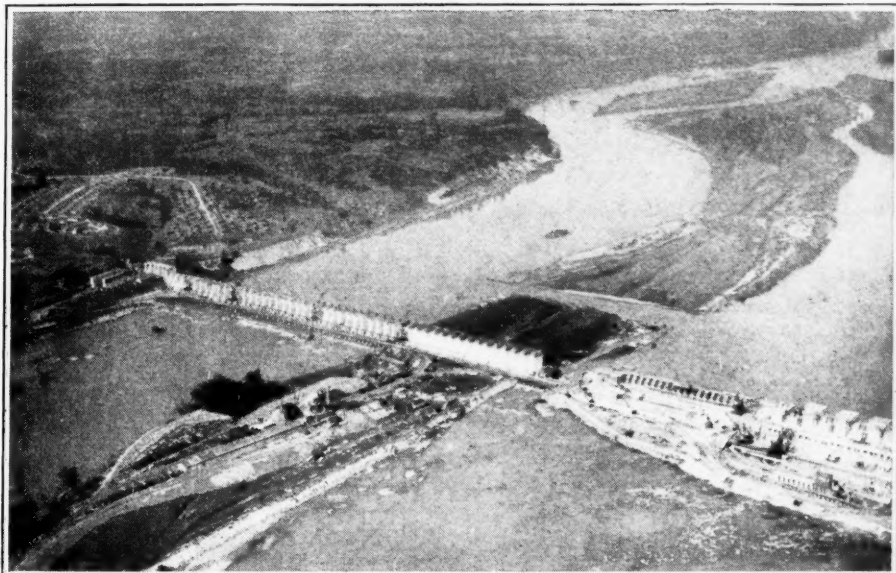
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AN AIRPLANE VIEW OF THE GREAT GOVERNMENT DAM ON THE TENNESSEE RIVER AT MUSCLE SHOALS, ALABAMA

(The power house is at the right. When the dam is completed and the water reaches its new level, the islands now showing in the middle of the river will be submerged. The work is being carried on by the Government, with Hugh L. Cooper & Co. as consulting engineers)

moment for guarding against future racial strifes.

*Lynchings,
and Negro
Progress*

The people of an originally alien stock who have the best claim upon our generosity are those Afro-Americans whose ancestors were brought to this country as slaves, and who have been making such marvelous progress in spite of all difficulties during recent years. Their economic efficiency is steadily increasing, and their percentage of illiteracy is diminishing. We are publishing in our present issue a remarkable article by Mr. Richardson of North Carolina upon the success of that progressive commonwealth in suppressing the evil of lynch law. Recent statistics show that the lynching of negroes becomes less frequent than formerly; and the good example of North Carolina will prevail throughout the South as well as the North, let us hope in the near future.

*Muscle Shoals
and Farm
Measures*

The offer that Mr. Henry Ford had made to the Government for the great nitrate plant and water power development on the Tennessee River in northern Alabama had been pending for about two years, when, on March 10,

the House of Representatives approved of the so-called McKenzie bill by vote of 227 to 142. This measure gives authority to the War Department to accept Mr. Ford's proposals and the matter is now in the hands of the Senate, where it will hardly reach a final vote in the present session. Many attempts were made on the floor of the House while the bill was under brief debate last month to change its character by amendment; but a strong majority was determined to pass the bill as it was known to have been accepted by Mr. Ford. The measure grants a lease of a hundred years, and the minority strove in vain to reduce this term to fifty years. The vote did not follow party lines strictly, although Democrats in general favored it, with Republicans opposing. On the final vote, 170 Democrats and 57 Republicans passed the bill with 122 Republicans and 19 Democrats voting against it. Mr. Ford has promised to make chemical fertilizers on a great scale at a low price, and his vision has captivated the agricultural imagination. On March 13, the Senate defeated the pending Norbeck-Burtneess bill by a vote of 41 to 32, this being the measure that proposed a grant of \$50,000,000 as a



JUDGE CURTIS D. WILBUR OF CALIFORNIA

(Judge Wilbur last month accepted President Coolidge's urgent invitation to become Mr. Denby's successor as Secretary of the Navy)

credit fund to enable the northwestern wheat farmers to take up stock-raising and diversify their production. The McNary-Haugen bill, however, was still pending, this proposing a fund of \$200,000,000 to handle export wheat. It seems quite likely that this measure will also fail, and there is little prospect of any special agricultural relief legislation at this session.

*Judge Kenyon
and Calvin
Coolidge*

Several men had been under consideration for the Navy Department, and on March 13 an offer of the post was declined by Hon. William S. Kenyon of Iowa, now a United States Circuit Judge, but formerly a prominent member of the Senate. The offer to Judge Kenyon gave a good indication of the President's opinions about men. There were times in the Senate when Mr. Kenyon seemed a little impulsive in forming opinions and expressing them; but there was never any question about his high-mindedness and his devotion to the public interest. He declined the President's offer on the ground that he did not regard himself as particularly well fitted for the Navy Department; but after full conferences with

the President it was not displeasing to anybody to know that he could compare Mr. Coolidge's standards and purposes with those of Abraham Lincoln. Iowa Republicans like those of Minnesota and other Northwestern States, have decided to send Coolidge delegates to the Cleveland convention, and all signs point towards a chastened party and a united Republican front under Coolidge leadership after the present house-cleaning process at Washington has delivered the party from the dominating influence of certain politicians of the baser type. If the expected resignation of Mr. Daugherty had taken place, it is quite likely that Judge Kenyon would have been offered the Attorney-Generalship; and it is hardly probable that he could have declined a post for which he is so well fitted, and which at this moment affords so great an opportunity for service.

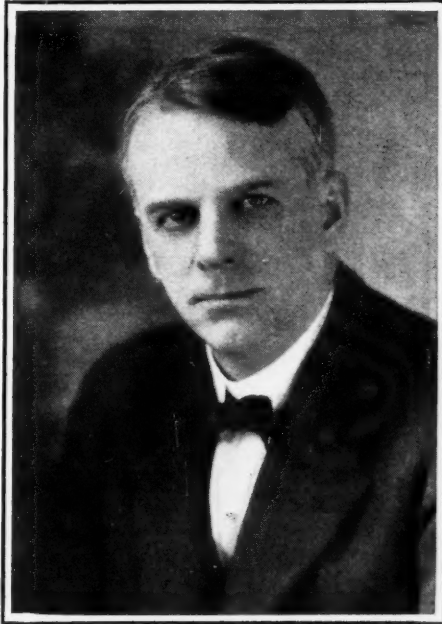
*Judge Wilbur
Enters the
Cabinet*

Having failed to secure Judge Kenyon for the naval post, Mr. Coolidge at once requisitioned another native of Iowa, who had won his way to the distinguished position of Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of California. Curtis D. Wilbur, who will be fifty-seven in May, is a graduate of the Naval Academy at Annapolis, of the class of 1888. He did not remain in the Navy, but studied law in California, and in due time became a judge at Los Angeles, organizing the Juvenile Court and making a remarkable record as a leader in child welfare work and an influence for good in public affairs. He was made a justice of the Supreme Court of California in 1919, and became Chief Justice in 1922. He is a brother of President Ray Lyman Wilbur of Stanford University. Judge Wilbur's Annapolis education has naturally given him a life-long interest in naval affairs, and every incident connected with his selection and acceptance was of the most gratifying character. Here was a case of the office seeking the man, with a quick response that showed no hesitation to accept a call of duty at evident personal sacrifice. There are real naval problems to be considered, and the office needs a man of high mentality. Judge Wilbur's thirty-six years of active life in California give him special familiarity with our problems of the Pacific and the Far East, which relate themselves to naval policy. The addition of Judge Wilbur adds strength to the President's group of advisers.

When Coolidge Takes a Stand While Mr. Coolidge seems always cautious, reticent, and unexcitable, he does not flinch when he makes up his mind. Thus, as we have already shown, the House by a practically unanimous vote of all parties and factions had passed a tax bill that included, as its most valuable and impressive detail, a 25 per cent. reduction on income taxes for the past year. The President asked Congress to detach this particular detail from a bill that otherwise had reference to future taxation, and to make it immediately applicable to the taxes that citizens everywhere had to pay on March 15. All that was necessary was to bring a joint resolution before the House which would have been passed in five minutes, with the certainty that the Senate would have acted favorably upon it with no delay whatever. It seemed like an affront to the intelligence of the country for the House leaders to affirm that parliamentary technicalities made it impossible to present a resolution for Congressional action that would have been adopted instantly without a roll call.

"This and That" in Congress The failure of Congress to do this common-sense thing not only subjects the Treasury Department to great trouble and expense in the future payment of rebates, but—what is far more important—imposes a serious hardship upon taxpayers by compelling them to advance money that Congress had already decided was not to be retained in the Treasury. In this situation, the country is of course on the side of the President and against a Congress that allows itself to become the victim of its own trivial rules of procedure. Furthermore the country is unquestionably with the President and against Congress as respects the whole scheme of tax revision. On March 13, the Ways and Means Committee of the House made a favorable report on the soldiers' bonus, as against the emphatic disapproval of the President, with the practical certainty that the measure would be voted upon and passed on Monday, the 17th. It has seemed fairly probable that the Senate would accept the House bonus bill, and that the President would veto the measure.

The Bonus Bill as Reported In its present form, the principal feature of the bonus bill is an endowment insurance plan. Insurance certificates running twenty



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HON. WILLIAM S. KENYON OF IOWA, FORMERLY SENATOR, NOW UNITED STATES CIRCUIT JUDGE

(When elected to the Senate in 1911, Mr. Kenyon was an Assistant Attorney-General at Washington, and in his younger days had been lawyer, prosecuting attorney, and judge in Iowa. He declined the President's offer of the navy portfolio last month, but is regarded as especially qualified to head the Department of Justice)

years are to be issued, the maximum policy being nearly \$2000 for veterans who served full time abroad, and approximately \$1500 for those who were not sent to France. Chairman Green estimates that the bonus will cost \$2,119,000,000, and that it will require the appropriation of something like a hundred million dollars a year for twenty years to meet the requirements of a sinking fund that would suffice for the redemption of the certificates. Unfortunately, there is no reason to think that if this particular bonus scheme is adopted it will end the organized treasury raids on behalf of the service men or their relatives. The present bonus bill is merely the beginning, and its enactment can hardly fail to prove the starting for more ambitious demands.

Honduras in Civil Strife

We are publishing in this number an article by Professor Hackett of the University of Texas on the latest revolution in Honduras. American influences, both official and un-

official, have been steadily at work for many years past to develop the little Central American republics and help them to find political and economic stability. It is a great pity that each one of the Central American constitutions does not give us the express authority to maintain peace that we possess as regards the republic of Panama. Our association with Cuba by virtue of the Platt Amendment has been of incalculable advantage to the island. Without so clear and permanent a legal right of intervention, we have succeeded in accomplishing wonders for the republics of Haiti and Santo Domingo. Elsewhere in this number will be found a résumé of recent Haitian progress, resulting directly from the regulation of Haitian affairs by the United States marines.

*Porto Rico
and its
Future*

While it is to be hoped that the United States may continue to guide the Haitians and Dominicans in their further efforts for peace and progress, there is no prospect at all that we shall seek any further annexations in the West Indies. This being the case, it is all the more incumbent upon us to study with the utmost patience and sympathy the problems that are afforded by our relations to the beautiful island of Porto Rico, where the American flag has been flying for a quarter of a century. The Porto Ricans are now legally American citizens; yet their status at home is not the same as that which they enjoy when they transfer their residence to one of our forty-eight States. The citizens of Porto Rico, like those of the District of Columbia and Alaska, do not participate in the responsibilities of our national Government. By courtesy, they are represented in our political conventions; but they do not vote for presidential electors. Many Porto Rican leaders are men of high attainments, and they are racially more logical than sentimental. They have a right to expect that in the future they are to go their own way under American protection like Cuba, or else that they are to be drawn into full union as an American State. Their present wise and able Governor, Judge Towner, believes that they ought at the proper time to be admitted to statehood. A group of able Porto Rican leaders has been at Washington this winter, seeking to bring about certain legal changes, and a more perfect understanding. As a timely coincidence, there has appeared a compendious volume, called "The Book of

Porto Rico," with hundreds of illustrations, and dealing with every aspect of the history, government, agriculture, commerce, education and institutional life of the island and its people. The advancement of the island since the American flag superseded that of Spain, as revealed in this remarkable publication, is highly gratifying.

*The Philippine
Independence
Movement*

There has also been a Philippine Mission in Washington this winter, headed by Manuel Roxas, who is Speaker of the Philippine House of Representatives. The independence movement, of which Messrs. Quezon and Roxas are the foremost leaders, has been sustained for some time past out of the Philippine treasury by large annual appropriations, the funds thus obtaining being used at their own discretion by the leaders of the movement, for the living and traveling expenses of the leaders and their retinues and also for their very ably conducted newspaper propaganda. The Government Auditor at Manila, Mr. Wright, has now stopped disbursements under this independence fund, and the matter will probably be thrashed out in the courts. American taxpayers in the Philippines are complaining that, whereas they provide most of the revenue, the money has been used for the benefit of those who have been trying to break down American authority. There is every reason to believe that in the controversies and deadlocks of the past two or three years Leonard Wood as Governor General has been acting with wisdom and justice in the best interests of the Filipinos themselves.

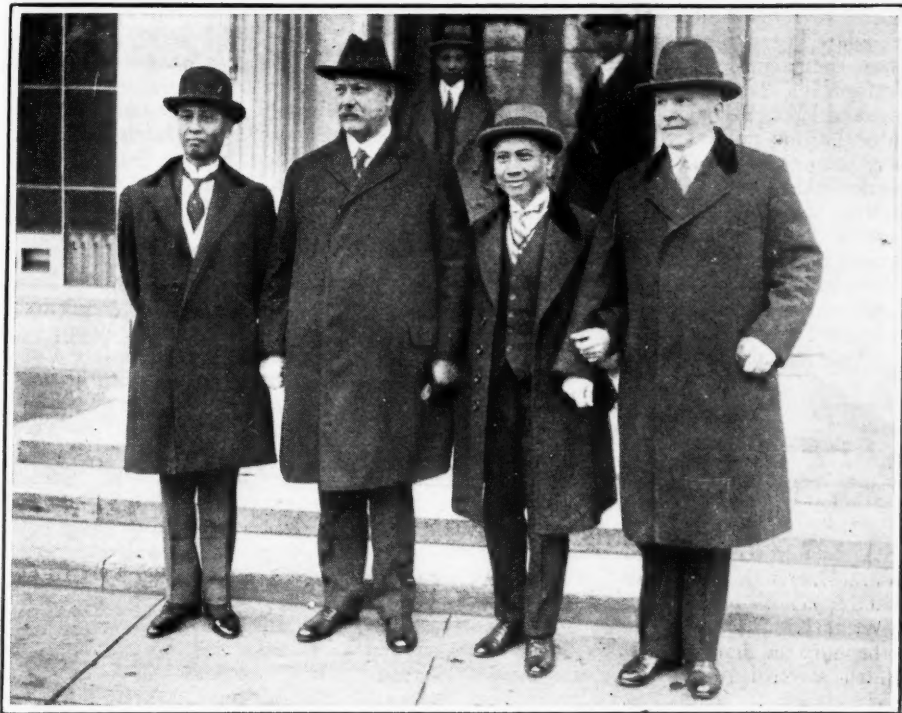
*The President
Answers
Roxas*

On March 5, there was made public a letter from President Coolidge to Mr. Roxas that is one of the most extended and elaborate of Mr. Coolidge's official expressions. This letter is in reply to resolutions that had been adopted by the Philippine legislature assailing the Governor General. These resolutions at Manila had asserted that "the immediate and absolute independence of the Philippines, which the whole country demands, is the only complete and satisfactory settlement of the Philippine problem." Mr. Coolidge's reply is most considerate in tone, but Lincolnian and convincing in its arguments. There is in this letter a calm presentation of the inestimable advantages to the Filipino people of the protection that

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A GROUP OF WHITE HOUSE VISITORS, INCLUDING TWO PHILIPPINE OFFICIALS

(Hon. Manuel Roxas, left, is head of the Philippine Independence Mission that has been spending the winter at Washington, and the third from the left is Hon. Pedro Guevara, Philippine delegate in Congress. Hon. John W. Weeks, Secretary of War, and Major-General Frank McIntyre, at the right, who is Chief of the Bureau of Insular Affairs, accompanied the Filipinos in a call upon President Coolidge)

their American connection gives them, and a wise pointing out of alternatives that, taken all together, constitute an unanswerable statement. To withdraw the American flag from the Philippines might be a very good thing for the United States, but it would be a most disastrous thing for the Filipinos.

An Ill-Timed Project

The President holds that the very fact of a failure on the part of these Filipino leaders to give support and encouragement to so excellent an administration as that of General Wood is merely another evidence of their unfitness to lead their country into a position of sovereign independence. The letter assures the Filipino people that if they should at some future time wish independence when they are capable of exercising it, the American Government and people would gladly accord it. Mr. Roxas was rude and offensive in his comments on Mr. Coolidge's studiously courteous letter.

He was quoted as accusing the President of playing politics, and said that his mission was not looking to the White House, which had nothing to do with the matter, but to Congress. It seems likely that the expected report of the Insular Affairs Committee upon the question of Philippine independence will be delayed, if not withheld altogether. Independence at the present time would seem to involve a sacrifice of the interests of almost everybody concerned with peace, order, and economic progress in the Archipelago, excepting only a group of political leaders.

Mexico Turns from War to Politics

Next month we shall publish a second article by Professor Cleland on the problems of Mexico, as the rebellion is virtually at an end while political activities are resumed in view of the approaching presidential election. De la Huerta having been eliminated, the rival candidates are General Plutarco Elias Calles and General Angel

Flores. Raoul Madera, who had been a candidate, has withdrawn in favor of Flores, whose campaign he is managing and whose platform is a document that radiates sweetness and light, although one cannot always judge Latinic politics by fair words and lofty promises. The financial difficulties of Mexico will have been greatly increased by the cost of suppressing the recent rebellion. Certain American interests, in return for various concessions, have been negotiating a loan to help the Obregon Government in its present emergencies, and rival European promoters are said to be trying to block the American program.

Supporting French Credit As we come within a few months of completing the tenth year since the outbreak of the World War, the prospects for the settlement of major disputes seem much brighter. Various recent events are best understood in the light of the general situation. Thus it was announced on March 13 that New York bankers, under the lead of Messrs. J. P. Morgan & Co., had arranged to support the finances of France by establishing a credit in favor of the French Government to a maximum amount of \$100,000,000. Dispatches from Paris the following day were to the effect that the forthcoming report of the Dawes Commission would undoubtedly be accepted by both Germany and France, and it was upon the basis of the understanding that there was to be a settlement of the reparations question that the New York credit was offered. The recent military and reconstruction expenses of France had been so great that it had been impossible to "balance the budget"; that is to say, to make current income meet expenditures. Under these circumstances, it had been impossible to protect the exchange value of an ever-increasing quantity of paper currency. Thus the franc, which under normal conditions is worth 19.3 cents, had on March 8 drifted to the low exchange value of 3.42. This means that an American dollar, instead of buying five francs, would exchange for more than thirty. After the announcement that American financiers would help to support French exchange, the franc advanced on Friday, March 14, to 4.65, and on Saturday, March 15, it was quoted at better than 4.75. There is no longer any serious danger that the franc will go the way of the mark or the ruble.

*Poincaré
Granted
Authority*

Meanwhile, the Prime Minister, M. Poincaré, had been engaged in what was perhaps the most desperate parliamentary battle of his entire career, and he won his victory early on the morning of March 15 after a long night session of the Senate. The financial situation had reached a point where some extraordinary policy had to be adopted. An elaborate financial bill of 109 articles had been carried through the Chamber of Deputies, bestowing upon the Poincaré Cabinet almost autocratic power over public expenditures, while greatly increasing the rates of taxation. The Senate Committee had reported adversely on the point of giving the Premier the power to adjust financial details by executive decree. Poincaré had previously won approval in his Ruhr occupation and various other policies, but now he was demanding dictatorial power outside of the realm of existing laws. The Senate finally sustained him early Saturday morning, March 15, by a vote of 154 to 141, the victory being much more sweeping and important in view of all the circumstances than this margin would indicate. During the next four months, the executive government is granted authority on its own initiative to reorganize public services, local as well as national, with the view of saving an annual expenditure of at least one thousand million francs.

*Plans of
Export
Committee*

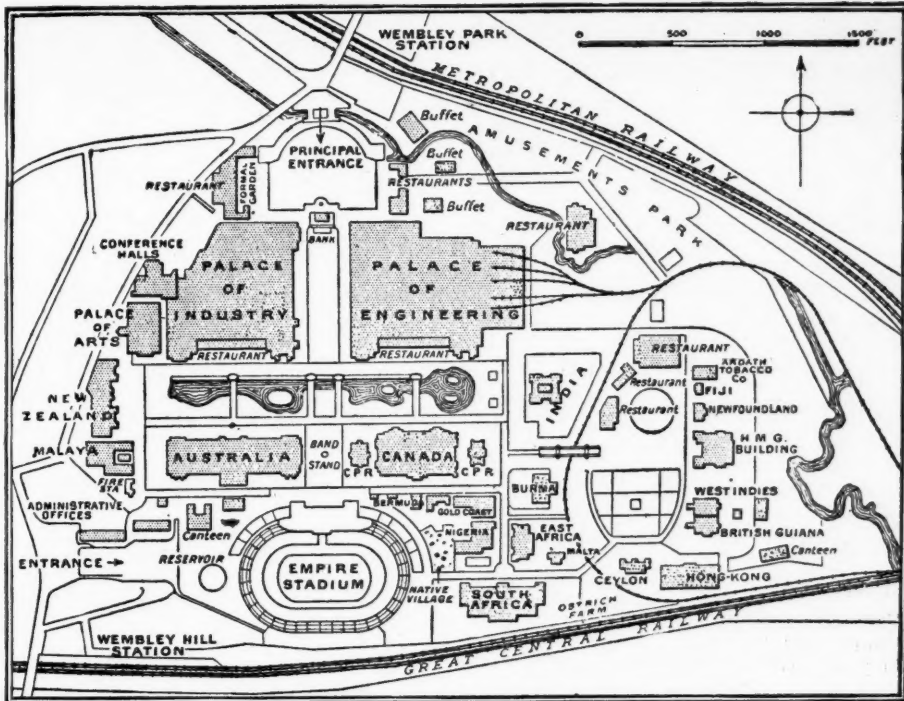
On the strength of this vote, the franc immediately advanced, and it will probably show steady gains as the new financial policy goes into effect. Undoubtedly the recommendations of the Dawes Commission, "if and when" accepted, will cause a very important further recovery of the exchange value of French money. The general plan of the experts, as unofficially intimated, is the establishment of a great bank to supersede the present Reichsbank, which will have entire control of German currency; and its department of issue will be under allied or international control, and perhaps located in Switzerland or Holland. To support this reorganization of German money, it is understood that a large international loan will be required. As regards reparations, it is intimated that they will be based upon the earnings of the German railway system, custom house receipts, and perhaps other public assets, these sources of income to be supervised in their financial

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THE GENERAL PLAN OF THE BRITISH IMPERIAL EXHIBITION, WHICH OPENS IN APRIL

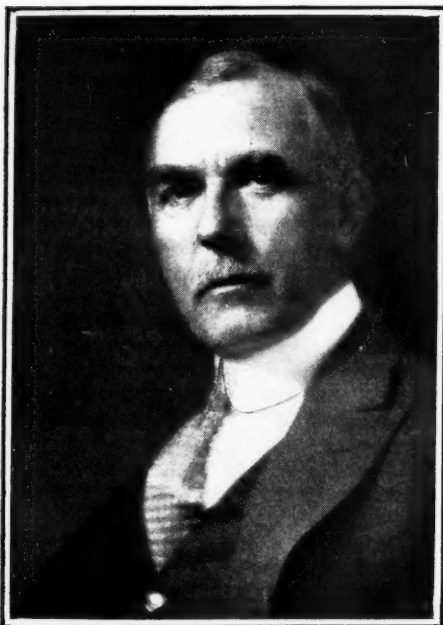
(The exhibition occupies an ample area at Wembley, a suburb northwest of London and only twelve miles from Charing Cross. Architecturally it is impressive, and its principal features are upon an unprecedented scale of magnitude. The buildings face upon a lagoon extending across the grounds that is spanned by ornamental bridges)

aspects by international authority for the benefit of Germany's creditors. In order to get these huge projects of financial reconstruction into working order, there may be required a moratorium of some duration. One thing that gives hope to those who look for a settlement is that something has to be done, and that there is nothing else in sight except the proposals that will soon be officially forthcoming from the Dawes Commission.

*Macdonald
Ministry
Finds Favor*

The article that we publish in the present number from the pen of Mr. Simonds was written in London; and it discloses an optimism regarding British economic conditions that is much greater than Mr. Simonds had felt before he departed upon his present European visit. The Macdonald Government is feeling its way carefully along the difficult paths that the curious party situation in Parliament provides for its restraint and discipline. It is constantly accused of following the lines of Conservative policy;

but it is showing certain human qualities that tend to give familiar things a different aspect. The months of February and March disclosed some correspondence between the heads of the British and French governments that is notable not so much for a change of attitude on the part of the British Foreign Office as for a change of tone. Mr. Macdonald could tell the French people certain things that would make them like and admire him, while Lord Curzon as Foreign Minister, saying the same things, would be detested beyond any supercilious Briton in all political history who had condescended to lecture his neighbors across the Channel. Meanwhile, Mr. Charles G. Dawes and Mr. Owen D. Young, working in association with British, French, and other experts, have gained for American common sense and good will some very hearty testimonials. It is to be noted, also, that another American, Mr. Norman H. Davis, heads the commission whose award of Memel to Lithuania has been ratified by England, France, Italy and Japan.



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THE LATE ALFRED H. SMITH, PRESIDENT OF
THE NEW YORK CENTRAL RAILROAD LINES

*British
Empire
Exhibition*

It is not the British way of doing things to quail in the face of adversity. With the greatest unemployment problem on her hands that almost any modern country has ever known, Great Britain has set out to recover economic prosperity by sheer courage and effort. On April 23, the British Empire Exhibition is to open in a convenient suburb of London, and it will be upon the largest scale of any national or international show that has ever been held. Not only will it epitomize the industry, commerce, and art of the British Islands, but all the great British Dominions will exhibit their products and their attractions, while from the ends of the earth the subjects of the British Crown will be present in native villages and in manifold features of their native activities and modes of life. Great international conventions will be held, including thousands of American members, and there will be many athletic contests in a stadium that is to seat something like a quarter of a million people. London will see more American visitors this year than ever before, and there are, upon the whole, some good reasons for the belief that Britain is approaching a period of better times.

*The League
and the
United States*

Mr. Fosdick contributes to our present number a telling article on the relations of the United States and the League of Nations. The League is not exercising the control that was originally expected, but it was doing many useful things. Mr. Fosdick shows that we are in point of fact associated much more importantly with the League's undertakings than we were in the first year. He advises a frank and straightforward kind of coöperation, instead of a half apologetic and wholly uncertain growth of inter-relationship. The substance, of course, is more important than the form; and we are actually co-workers in the field of the world's harmonious progress to an extent that few of us have ever realized. Quite apart from the formalities involved, our State Department is concerned all the time with projects in furtherance of world betterment.

*Some
Obituary
Notes*

We have used for the frontispiece of this number a photograph of the late Dr. O. S. Marden, whose books on self-help have been read by millions in different countries, and whose own life exemplified his doctrine of effort and cheerfulness. No career could better illustrate the practical philosophy that Dr. Marden preached than that of the late Alfred H. Smith, who had been president of the New York Central lines for about ten years. Mr. Smith, who was only sixty years of age and still a man of youthful energy and vitality, was killed by a fall from his horse. He had entered the employ of the railroad system at the age of fourteen, when the death of his father made it necessary for him to find a job. After several years of office work, he became a section hand to learn railroad construction; and his steady advancement on sheer merit took him to the very top. Mr. McAdoo, as Director General of Railroads in the war period, placed President Smith in charge of trunk line transportation East of Chicago. Other distinguished names will be found in our obituary record, among them those of Henry Bacon, the architect who designed the Lincoln Memorial at Washington, the venerable Episcopal Bishop A. C. Garrett of Texas, who was aged ninety-two, Rear Admiral Sumner, who died at the age of eighty-two, and Rear Admiral George Henry Cook, who had attained the age of eighty-seven. Japan's statesman, Prince Matsukata, died at eighty-nine.

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RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS

(From February 15 to March 16, 1924)

PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

February 15.—The Senate Public Lands Committee examines Frank A. Vanderlip regarding repetition by him of rumors concerning an excessive price that the late President Harding is alleged to have received for the Marion Star, rumors which Mr. Vanderlip fails to prove had foundation in fact.

February 16-18.—The Senate confirms Atlee Pomerene (Dem., Ohio) and Owen J. Roberts (Rep., Pa.) as special counsel for the Government in the move to cancel oil leases.

February 19.—The House, sitting as a committee of the whole, substitutes the Garner (Dem.) income-tax rates for the Mellon plan, voting 222 to 196; the maximum surtax in the Mellon plan is 25 per cent., in the Garner schedule, 44 per cent.; the normal Garner rate is 2 per cent. on the first \$5,000 of taxable income; 18 Republicans vote with the Democrats in adopting the Garner plan.

February 21.—In the House, the Committee on Elections votes 6 to 3 to remove Sol Bloom (Dem.) of the 10th New York District, and to award his seat to Walter M. Chandler (Rep.).

February 22.—The House votes 158 to 100 to permit inspection of income tax returns by committees of Congress; any State is also empowered to call on the Federal Government for income data of any corporation doing business in the State.

The House Appropriations Committee reports the Agricultural bill—carrying \$56,758,513, of which \$17,700,000 is for highway development.

February 23.—The House refuses, 157 to 74, to restore the excess profits tax on corporations, proposed by Mr. Frear (Rep., Wis.).

In the Senate, Mr. Borah (Rep., Idaho) urges the resignation of Attorney General Daugherty for the best interests of the country and the Republican party.

February 24.—The House adopts an amendment increasing inheritance taxes to a maximum of 40 per cent., voting 190 to 110.

February 26.—The Senate Public Lands Committee examines scores of telegrams sent from Washington, D. C., to Edward B. McLean, at Palm Beach, Fla., some in the cipher of the Department of Justice.

February 29.—The House passes the Tax Reduction bill by vote of 408 to 8, seven Republicans standing for the original Mellon bill with one Democrat; the Longworth compromise, with 37½ per cent. as the maximum surtax, was adopted earlier in the day by vote of 216 to 199; the Mellon rates were rejected, 153 to 251.

March 1.—The Senate adopts a resolution by Mr. Wheeler (Dem., Mont.), calling for an investigation of the administration of the Attorney General's office under Harry M. Daugherty, the vote being 66 to 1; Smith W. Brookhart (Rep., Iowa) is chosen chairman of the committee, the other members

being Senators Moses (Rep., N. H.), Jones (Rep., Wash.), Wheeler (Dem., Mont.) and Ashurst (Dem., Ariz.).

March 3.—The House Ways and Means Committee receives a report from the Treasury that \$123,992,820.94 was refunded in 1923 to 263,320 persons for taxes "illegally or erroneously collected"; 10,152 persons each received more than \$1,000.

The House Committee on Insular Affairs agrees to report a bill providing for Philippine independence, voting 11 to 5.

March 4.—The House orders appointment of a special committee to investigate the Shipping Board, the Emergency Fleet Corporation, and subsidiary agencies.

March 5.—In the Senate debate on the oil situation, Mr. Heflin (Dem., Ala.) says, "I think the 'principal' referred to here is the President"—while speaking of a telegram from Ira E. Bennett, editor, to Edward B. McLean, owner of the Washington Post, in which Bennett says he has seen the principal and everything is fixed.

March 7.—The Senate oil committee is informed by Ira E. Bennett that the "principal" mentioned by him was Senator Curtis (Rep., Kan.), majority whip, and not the President; Curtis indignantly denies it.

March 10.—The House votes 227 to 142 to accept Henry Ford's offer to buy the Muscle Shoals (Alabama) power plant and nitrate works, after replacement by the Government of the Gorgas power plant, which had been sold.

March 11.—Both branches receive a special message from President Coolidge, requesting passage of a 25 per cent. reduction in taxes on 1923 income before March 15; House leaders declare that it would be impossible to secure unanimous consent.

In the Senate, Irvine L. Lenroot resigns as chairman of the Public Lands Committee investigating naval oil reserve leases.

The House Committee on Merchant Marine hears Secretary Hoover argue for passage of the White bill to prevent radio monopoly.

March 12.—The Senate oil committee questions Edward B. McLean, who declares that he misrepresented facts, in order to help a friend, when he previously stated that he had loaned \$100,000 to Secretary Fall.

The House authorizes an investigation of charges that two of its members accepted bribes in connection with pardon cases before the Department of Justice.

The Senate committee investigating the Department of Justice under the administration of Attorney-General Harry M. Daugherty begins its public hearings by receiving the testimony of Miss Roxy Stinson, of Columbus, Ohio; the testimony proves sensational.

The House receives from committee the Army Appropriation bill, with provision for 12,000 commissioned officers and 125,000 men, carrying \$326,224,993 (\$16,224,268 less than last year).

March 13.—The House Ways and Means Committee reports favorably on a soldier bonus bill providing twenty-year endowment insurance certificates for World War veterans (see page 353).

The Senate defeats the Norbeck-Burtess bill, voting 41 to 32 against appropriating \$50,000,000 for relief of farmers in wheat-growing States.

The Senate ratifies the treaty with Great Britain providing wider jurisdiction for the United States in its effort to check liquor smuggling; the treaty has not yet been ratified by Great Britain.

March 14.—The Senate committee investigating Attorney-General Daugherty hears statements by Gaston B. Means, a former secret service agent, regarding some of his transactions, through the recital of which he implicates by innuendo several important personages at Washington.

AMERICAN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

February 17.—Four battleships of the Atlantic Fleet—the *Wyoming*, *Arkansas*, *Utah* and *Florida*—are retired from service as unfit to maneuver at more than twelve knots.

The Department of Justice reports that 115,000 criminal cases have been terminated in four years under the prohibition law in the federal courts; 5,095 were completed in six months of 1920, 21,962 in 1921, 28,743 in 1922, and 42,730 in 1923.

February 18.—William Gibbs McAdoo, heartened by the unanimous endorsement of his supporters meeting at Chicago, declares he will continue to be a candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination.

Edwin Denby resigns as Secretary of the Navy, effective March 10; the President accepts his resignation, stating that Denby will go with the knowledge that his "honesty and integrity have not been impugned."

February 20.—Governor Alfred E. Smith, of New York, at a conference of district-attorneys and law enforcement officials, insists upon local enforcement of prohibition; in reply to a suggestion of new State legislation, he says "We have all the law we need."

February 21.—Charles Beecher Warren is named by President Coolidge as Ambassador to Mexico, the post having been vacant for five years.

February 22.—President Coolidge speaks to the country from his study by radio, on the value of Washington's career as an example for to-day.

John T. Adams, chairman of the Republican National Committee, denounces Republican Senate leaders for demanding Attorney-General Daugherty's resignation.

February 23.—Secretary Hughes, speaking before the American Law Institute at Washington, D. C., says: "The great duty of the hour is not to make law, but to enforce law, to establish the fundamentals of security of life and property, and to maintain by enforcement respect for law in our great cities"; he says there are 175,000 pages of judicial decisions and 12,000 statutes printed each year.

February 25.—The New York legislature passes a \$45,000,000 Soldier Bonus bill, giving \$10 per month of service to veterans of the World War, with a maximum of \$150.

February 27.—Attorney-General Daugherty, though pressed by Republican Senate leaders, party advisers, and public opinion, refuses to resign until after a "fair hearing" on charges preferred against him.

March 4.—The New York legislature passes an income tax-reduction bill; 25 per cent. reduction in the State tax on last year's personal income is provided for.

The New York State Attorney-General enjoins G. F. Redmond & Co., stockbrokers, who are accused of operating "bucketshops," mostly on the partial-payment plan; the company has branches in Boston, Providence, Cleveland, and Chicago.

Samuel Knight, of San Francisco, is appointed by the President to investigate the Elk Hills lease of oil lands by California to the Standard Oil Company, from school lands which are alleged to be mineral lands belonging by reversion, therefore, to the federal Government.

President Coolidge orders Acting Attorney-General Seymour to make an immediate investigation of charges that two Congressmen accepted bribes to obtain paroles and pardons, according to evidence presented to a federal grand jury at Chicago.

March 5.—A letter from the President to Manuel Roxas, head of the Filipino Independence Mission, dated February 21, is published; President Coolidge says that quite apart from the American obligation to continue to protect the Philippines, "there remain to be achieved by the Filipino people many greater advances on the road of education, culture, economic and political capacity before they should undertake the full responsibility of their administration."

March 7.—President Coolidge raises the duty on wheat imports 12 cents a bushel and on flour 20 cents a hundredweight, under the "flexible" clause of the Tariff law.

March 9.—In New Jersey, Hudson County officials list 30,000 persons for violating "blue" laws passed in 1798; this action follows complaints against Sunday motion pictures by clergymen and reformers, the reaction of the authorities being to include all violators, from barbers to telegraph operators, on the ground that they cannot discriminate against motion-picture shows alone.

March 10.—Edwin Denby retires as Secretary of the Navy.

March 11.—At St. Paul, Minn., a conference of delegates from eight States summons a national political convention of organizations favoring a third party to meet at St. Paul, June 17, to nominate a President and Vice-President.

In the Alabama Democratic presidential primaries, Senator Oscar Underwood secures a liberal majority in a three-cornered contest.

The New Hampshire presidential primaries indicate that the eleven delegates to the Republican convention will be solidly pledged for Coolidge.

The Republican State convention at Topeka, Kansas, instructs its seven delegates-at-large for Calvin Coolidge; 8 of the 14 district delegates now elected have been instructed for Coolidge.

March 13.—At Cheyenne, Wyo., Federal Judge T. Blake Kennedy grants the Government a temporary injunction against further exploitation of the Teapot Dome oil reserve, and appoints Rear-

Admiral Joseph Strauss and A. E. Watts as joint receivers.

The British steamship *Orduna*, seized for smuggling liquor and narcotics into the United States, is released on \$1,000,000 bail.

March 14.—Judge Curtis Dwight Wilbur, the Chief Justice of California, is appointed by the President to be Secretary of the Navy.

March 16.—Assistant Secretary of the Navy Theodore Roosevelt denies a charge made in the House of Representatives, that he profited directly or indirectly by naval oil leases.

FOREIGN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

February 16.—In England, 100,000 dock workers go on strike, throwing out of employment nearly 1,000,000 workers in other trades.

In Tokio, a group of Japanese Communists are arrested for plotting to form a secret party, with Toshihiko Sakai, Socialist, chosen for the premiership.

February 21.—The dockers' strike in England is settled.

In the French Senate, Premier Poincaré puts through his electoral reform law by a narrow margin of 150 to 134 votes.

February 23.—The French Chamber of Deputies adopts Premier Poincaré's 20 per cent. tax increase bill with a majority of 136; 4,500,000,000 francs will be added to the revenues, and 3,000,000,000 annually saved by economies; the match monopoly is sold; railroad fares and communication tolls are increased.

February 26.—In Mexico, Federalist troops capture Tuxpam from the rebels.

At Munich, Bavaria, the trial is begun of General Ludendorff, Adolf Hitler, and other German revolutionists charged with high treason.

February 27.—The Belgian Cabinet headed by Premier Theunis resigns, after failing to obtain a vote of confidence on the economic convention with France.

February 28.—General Salvador Alvarado, Mexican socialist rebel and former Governor of Yucatan, flees to Vancouver, B. C., from Acapulco; federal troops advance on Jalapa from Vera Cruz, Tuxpam is opened to international shipping, and rebels are dispersed from the oil fields.

March 3.—The Turkish Grand National Assembly passes a bill abolishing the Caliphate and deposing Caliph Abdul Medjid Effendi, who was elected in November, 1922, is now fifty-two years of age, and is a cousin of former Sultan Mohammed VI.

March 4.—The Caliph Abdul Medjid Effendi and his son Prince Omar Farukh Effendi leave Constantinople for Switzerland.

Mexican elections are reported set for Sunday, July 6, with Plutarco Elias Calles and General Angel Flores as presidential candidates already in the field.

March 7.—The Moslems of Mesopotamia, Transjordan, and the Hedjaz, proclaim their King, Hussein Ibn Ali, as Caliph, or head of the Mohammedan religious world.

March 11.—A Greek Cabinet headed by M. Papamastasion (Rep.) succeeds that of former Premier Kafandaris, resigned; Venizelos, the aged statesman, is again in exile.

March 13.—The British Labor Government



George William Mundelein

Patrick Joseph Hayes

THE TWO NEW AMERICAN CARDINALS

(Pope Pius last month summoned to Rome, to be created Cardinals, the Archbishops of New York and Chicago. Both prelates are natives of New York and graduates of Manhattan College. Archbishop Mundelein has been in charge of the Chicago diocese since 1916, while Archbishop Hayes has been in charge of the New York diocese since 1919. With their elevation to the College of Cardinals there will be four American members of the supreme body of the Roman Catholic Church, Cardinal O'Connell having been created in 1911 and Cardinal Dougherty in 1921.)

suffers its first defeat in the House of Commons, 234 to 207 on a minor matter of rules.

March 14.—Premier Poincaré puts through the French Senate the first section of his bill empowering the executive to economize by decree to the extent of 1,000,000,000 francs in four months without further legislation; the vote is 154 to 141, and the entire bill is expected to pass.

The new head of the Russian Soviet Army, Frunza (who succeeded Trotzky with the title of Substitute Minister of War), begins reorganizing the "mobilized proletariat" into a national militia.

President Ebert fixes the date for general elections in Germany as May 4, the Reichstag having been dissolved.

March 16.—King Victor Emmanuel formally enters Fiume for the purpose of annexing the city to Italy.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

February 17.—The United States cruiser *Richmond* leaves Vera Cruz, Mexico, conditions in that region having been restored to normal.

February 20.—At Belgrade, the Yugoslav Chamber of Deputies ratifies the Fiume treaty with Italy, by vote of 123 to 24.

February 21.—The German-American Mixed Claims Commission awards nearly \$1,000,000 on fifty-seven claims arising from the *Lusitania* sinking; 3,190 general insurance cases have been dismissed, totaling \$345,000,000; there were 278 *Lusitania* claims in November, 1923, involving \$22,600,000.

Experts Commission No. 2, investigating Germany's exported gold under chairmanship of Reginald McKenna (British) estimates the total at about \$2,000,000,000. . . . Commission No. 1, under Charles G. Dawes (American), is subdivided,

one group working on state monopolies for Germany, the other on the budget.

Austria recognizes the Russian Soviet Government, following Great Britain and Italy.

February 23.—William Phillips is approved by King Albert as United States Ambassador to Belgium, succeeding Henry P. Fletcher, who is transferred to Rome.

Spain withdraws from the naval disarmament conference at Rome, but maintains an observer; the dispute arose over tonnage.

The expert Commission No. 1 receives a report from its sub-committee on German railroads (composed of Sir William Ackworth and M. Leverage), to the effect that, with fares on the French level and a decrease of employees, the roads could earn annual net profits of 800,000,000 gold marks.

Premier Mussolini requests the British Foreign Office to cede Jubaland (East Africa) to Italy, in accordance with the Treaty of London; Lord Curzon had refused to consider this until Italy cedes the Dodecanese Islands in the Aegean Sea to Greece.

February 26.—Sir Esme William Howard, new British Ambassador, arrives in the United States.

March 1.—At Ceiba, Honduras, American marines are landed to protect the consulate, which has been fired upon by Honduran revolutionists; American warships are sent to Ceiba and Puerto Cortes (see page 300).

The United States commission to negotiate a new treaty with Panama is selected, composed of Secretary of State Hughes, Francis White, Joseph R. Baker, and Edward L. Reed; the Panama commission consists of Dr. Eusebio A. Morales, Secretary of Finance, Dr. Eduardo Chiari, former Secretary of Foreign Affairs, and Eugenil J. Chevalier, with Dr. Ricardo J. Alfaro, Panaman Minister at Washington, presiding.

March 2.—Letters between Premiers Macdonald and Poincaré are published, showing an effort by the British to place international relations on a broader and more liberal basis than force.

March 4.—Experts Commission No. 1 is reported having framed a bank plan for Germany with 400,000,000 gold marks capital and a reserve of 1,200,000,000 composed of one-third Reichsbank gold, one-third German subscriptions, and one-third from sale of stock abroad; Germany may gain control of the directorate after payment of reparations by purchasing stock soon to be sold abroad to float the scheme, and in the meantime a majority of the directors will be foreigners; the German Government is to secure its loan from the Rentenbank of 1,200,000,000 rentenmarks by receipts from tobacco or alcohol monopoly, and 1,200,000,000 more rentenmarks, secured by real estate, will be redeemed at their par of 4.22 to the dollar.

The text of the British-American Ship Liquor Treaty is published at Washington.

March 10.—At Geneva, the Opium Congress adjourns until March 28, in disagreement; Edwin L. Neville (United States) insists on reducing opium production at the source; Britain holds out for forbidding exports, adopting the Indian view; production in India, Persia, and Turkey is considered by impartial observers as too large for local needs and the source of illicit smuggling.

March 12.—Mexican arms purchases from the

United States are reported as amounting to over \$1,000,000.

March 14.—At Geneva, the Council of the League of Nations accepts the report of Norman H. Davis (American) adjusting the Memel dispute; Lithuania accepts the solution and Poland protests, but the approval of Britain, France, Italy, and Japan settles this long-standing controversy.

Delegates of the Little Entente at Geneva sign a political protocol permitting the application in Hungary of a program of financial relief similar to that which saved Austria, and the League plan for the Hungarian loan is expected to encounter no other obstacles.

It is announced that Poland and Germany have accepted the arbitration of the League on German minority rights in Poland, resulting from the Upper Silesia settlement.

The report of the Rome conference on extension of the principles of naval disarmament established at Washington is received at Geneva, and the League Secretariat asks all countries for further suggestions as to a date for a conference to draft a treaty supplementing the Washington treaty.

Coolidge appoints the United States members of the St. Lawrence River Joint Engineering Board; they are: Secretary Hoover, chairman, William C. Breed (N. Y.), James E. Davidson (Mich.), James P. Goodrich (Ind.), James R. Howard (Ill.), James D. Noonan (A. F. L.), Stephen B. Davis (D. C.), Charles P. Craig, executive secretary; a New England member is still to be appointed.

March 15.—Sweden is reported to have reached an agreement recognizing the Russian Government.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

February 15.—Senator Frank L. Greene, of Vermont, is accidentally shot in the head on Pennsylvania Avenue, at the capital, by a prohibition agent in pursuit of bootleggers.

February 16.—J. P. Morgan donates to the public the \$8,500,000 library of his father, the late J. Pierpont Morgan, including the building on East Thirty-sixth Street, New York City.

February 18.—The bituminous miners' present wage scale is continued for three years by the sub-committee of miners and employers of the central competitive field, at Jacksonville, Fla.

February 22.—The Egyptian Government, through Pierre Lacau, Director General of the Antiquities Service, forces open the locks which Howard Carter had put on the entrance to the tomb of Tut-ankh-Amen; the tomb has been closed for nine days owing to a disagreement.

Admiral Coontz, commanding the Pacific fleet, and editors and publishers from the continent of the United States, visit Porto Rico.

February 23.—The Census Bureau reports that the wealth of Maine has increased to \$2,006,531,000, a gain of 100 per cent. since 1912, with a per capita increase of 94.1 per cent. to \$2,586; Michigan's wealth is \$11,340,150,000, an increase of 116.7 per cent., with a per capita of \$2,883, increased 59.5 per cent. over 1912.

February 24.—In New York State, the total criminal convictions for 1923 number 61,169 as against 43,703 in 1922; 15,601 of the 1923 convictions were for intoxication, an increase of 4,701 over 1922.

March 1.—At Nixon, N. J., an explosion in a

fertilizer plant wrecks forty buildings and kills nearly twenty people, injuring many others.

March 3.—The Virginia-Carolina Chemical Company goes into a receivership in equity with the Southern Cotton Oil Company, its subsidiary; their combined assets are \$135,000,000, with liabilities of \$51,000,000.

March 5.—The American Telephone & Telegraph Company starts suit for infringement of radio patents by unlicensed broadcasting stations; there are 534 stations in the country, and only about fifty could operate if station WEAJ stopped all infringements.

March 7.—Six radio broadcasting stations relay speeches and a musical program of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology at New York a distance of 7,000 miles without land wires; the stations are WJZ (N. Y.), WGY (Schenectady), KDKA (Pittsburgh), KFKX (Hastings, Neb.), KGO (San Francisco), and 2AC (Manchester, England); radio stations from Melbourne, Australia, to Constantinople, Turkey, "listen in."

March 8.—The French franc drops to a new low value of less than 3.5 cents.

March 10.—The freighter *Santiago*, carrying sugar to New York, founders off Cape Hatteras during one of the worst storms in years; 24 lives are lost and 11 saved.

March 12.—J. P. Morgan & Co. advance a credit of \$100,000,000 to the Bank of France, to support the falling franc; the exchange rate immediately rises to 4.20 cents.

OBITUARY

February 15.—Charles E. Butler, noted expert on bibliographical questions, 72 . . . Bishop George Albert Ormsby, Vicar of Egltingham, Bishop of Honduras and Central America from 1893 to 1907, 80.

February 16.—Henry Bacon, noted architect, who designed the Lincoln Memorial at Washington, D. C., 57 (see page 428). . . . Rear Adm. George Henry Cooke, U. S. N., retired, 87.

February 18.—The Right Rev. Alexander Charles Garrett, presiding Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America and Bishop of Dallas Diocese, 92. . . . John W. McGrath, secretary to ex-President Roosevelt from 1912 to 1916, 34.

February 19.—William Flinn, Pittsburgh contractor and Republican politician, 72. . . . John Valentine Hecker, Connecticut miller, 76. . . . David G. Garabrant, of Bloomfield, N. J., paper manufacturer and well-known Baptist, 77. . . . Bishop John Edward Gunn, of the Roman Catholic diocese of Mississippi, 61.

February 20.—Rear Adm. George Watson Sumner, U. S. N., retired, 82.

February 21.—Bishop Theophile Meerschuer, Catholic, of Oklahoma, 76. . . . Henry Garland Dupre, Louisiana Congressman, 50. . . . Edmund J. Carpenter, literary editor, of Massachusetts, 78. . . . Sir Henry Lucy ("Toby, M.P."), noted British political writer, 78.

February 22.—Roger Foster, legal author, 66. . . . Oakley C. Curtis, former Governor of Maine, 58.

February 23.—Gen. C. E. Adams, Past Commander-in-Chief of the G. A. R.

February 24.—Charles Jones Peabody, banker, 67.

February 25.—Plimmon Henry Dudley, steel rail expert of the New York Central, 80.

February 26.—George Randolph Chester, widely known author, 54. . . . George Conklin, famous animal trainer, 78.

February 27.—Edgar Truman Brackett, prominent in New York State Republican politics, 71. . . . Prince Masaoyshi Matsukata, Japanese "elder statesman" and financier, 89.

February 28.—Grenville S. MacFarland, New England attorney and Hearst editorial writer, 50.

March 1.—Israel Smith Clare, historian, 77.

March 2.—L. Alan Sangree, journalist and author, 49.

March 4.—Thomas A. Whelan, Baltimore insurance executive, 69.

March 5.—Albert E. Hoyt, New York State Democratic politician and journalist, 59.

March 6.—Edward William Thomson, Canadian author and editorial writer, 75. . . . Jefferson Monroe Levy, New York lawyer and former Congressman, 72. . . . Frank Tilford, well-known New York grocer, 71.

March 8.—Alfred H. Smith, president of the New York Central Railroad, 60.

March 9.—General Payotis Dangelis, Greek political leader, and former Commander-in-Chief of the Army.

March 10.—Dr. Orison Swett Marden, for many years editor of *Success* magazine, 74 (see frontispiece). . . . Dr. James O. Green, distinguished sportsman, 82. . . . Wallace Gould Levison, scientist, 78.

March 12.—Edward Everett McCall, former justice of the New York State Supreme Court, 59.

March 13.—John F. Alvord, noted manufacturer of Torrington, Conn.

March 15.—Brig.-Gen. Richard Henry Pratt, founder of the Industrial School for Indians at Carlisle, Pa., 84. . . . Francis E. Baker, Judge of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals, 64. . . . William O. Stillman, of Albany, N. Y., president of the American Humane Association, 67. . . . Walter R. Stines, former Representative in Congress from Rhode Island, 70.

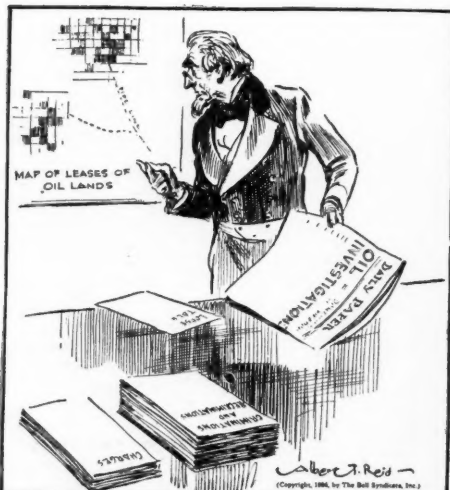
March 16.—Gen. M. C. J. Pelle, head of French diplomatic missions in Turkey and Czechoslovakia.



GEORGE RANDOLPH CHESTER

(Mr. Chester died on February 26, at the age of 55. He had been a newspaper reporter and editor in Detroit and Cincinnati, but later devoted his entire time to writing short stories for magazines.)

EVENTS OF A MONTH IN CARTOONS



"I'VE ALMOST FORGOTTEN THE MAIN THING!
WERE THOSE LEASES GOOD THINGS FOR ME,
OR NOT?"

From the *Sentinel* (Milwaukee, Wis.)

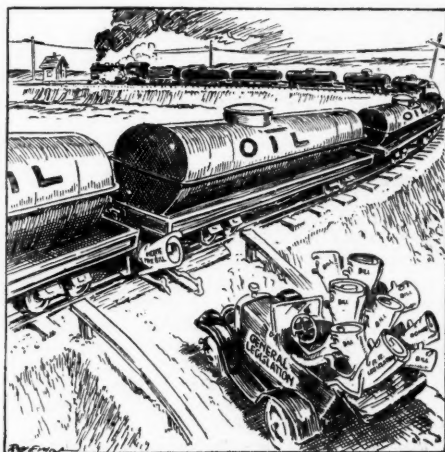


THE POT AND THE KETTLE
From the *Oregonian* (Portland, Ore.)



**THE GREAT OIL DELUGE—OR THE PERIL OF
THE DEMOCRATIC DONKEY AND THE REPUB-
LICAN ELEPHANT**

From the *Tribune* (South Bend, Ind.)



BLOCKING THE LEGISLATIVE MACHINE

From the *Dispatch* (Columbus, Ohio)

[The Senate's investigation of oil-land leases has naturally consumed the time and energies of many of its members, and the progress of general legislation has been checked.]



THIS MODERN SALOME SEEMS TO WANT STILL MORE HEADS

[On the platter, already, are the political heads of Secretaries Fall and Denby, with Attorney-General Daugherty at the head of a waiting list]

From the News (Dallas, Tex.)



THE RISING TIDE

From the Journal (Providence, R. I.)



FIGHT FOR THE DISH, AND SPILL THE BEANS!

From the Eagle (Brooklyn, N. Y.)



OILY STEPS, THE NEW ROAD TO THE "DOWN AND OUT" CLUB

From the Star (Washington, D. C.)



UNCLE SAM USED TO RUN FOR OIL—BUT NOW HE RUNS AWAY FROM IT

From the News-Leader (Cleveland, Ohio)



HEADED FOR TAX-REDUCTION LAND—From the *News* (Chicago, Ill.)



A NEW TEST FOR PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES
—“DOES HE SMELL OF OIL?”
From the *Bee* (Sacramento, Cal.)

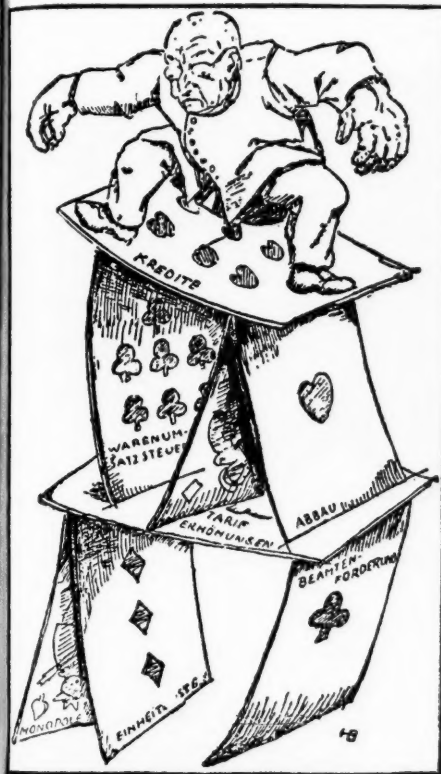


“SLIGHTLY DISFIGURED, BUT STILL IN THE RING”—From the *Evening Post* (New York)

[Mr. McAdoo's “availability” hat has been patched by the conference of his supporters at Chicago]

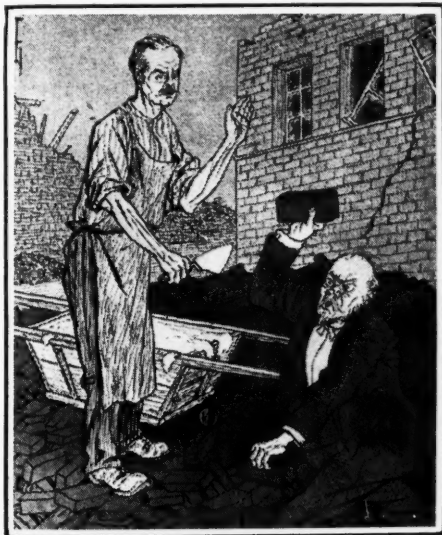


PREMIER MACDONALD AND EX-PREMIER BALDWIN BOTH ABANDON THEIR CAMPAIGN LUGGAGE—From the *Weekly Dispatch* (London, England)



THE GERMAN BUDGET FOR 1924
(Fragile as a house of cards!)

From *Der Güts* (Vienna, Austria)



A NEW USE FOR BRICKS

MACDONALD (to Poincaré): "You can't have any more bricks for breaking windows. We need them all for reconstruction."

From *Simplicissimus* (Munich, Germany)

[The cartoon reproduced above expresses a kindly attitude on the part of the German people toward the new British Labor ministry under Premier Macdonald, especially as that government may exercise a restraining influence on the French Premier.]



THE ENGLISH CONUNDRUM

[The new British Premier, Macdonald, is reported to have said that he was respectable and ornamental.]

LLOYD GEORGE (the jester): "My premier, it is he. But I am "it."

From *Le Rire* (Paris, France)

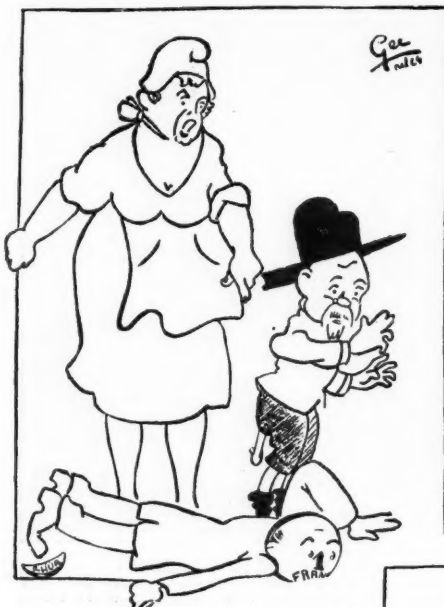


IF UNCLE SAM WOULD GO TO THE ASSISTANCE OF GERMANY

["We must first carry water to start the German mill-wheel" - declaration of General Dawes, delegate from America, to the Committee of Experts.]

FRANÇOIS: "You have only to turn around to fill those pails, old fellow! You have a German Niagara in reserve at home."

From *Le Rire* (Paris, France)



MARIANNE (TO POINCARÉ): "NOW I HAVE MADE IT FALL. IF YOU DON'T PICK IT UP AGAIN YOU WILL BE SPANKED!"

From *Pasquino* (Turin, Italy)



TRYING TO HOLD IT BACK

POINCARÉ: "Don't move!"

From *De Amsterdammer* (Amsterdam, Holland)



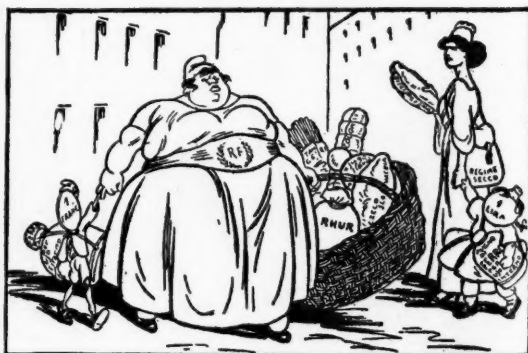
TOO MUCH RUHR PIE

From the *Daily Express* (London, England)



THE FRENCH FRANC BEGINS TO SINK

From *Libre Parole* (Paris, France)



THE POOR LITTLE RICH BOY

FRANCE: "It is strange. My little franc grows thinner day by day."
ITALY [at the right]: "Nothing to wonder at, my sister. You are too busy to take care of him."

From *Il Travaso* (Rome, Italy)

**THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT MAJORITY**

(Sometimes a high and massive pillar collapses in a night)

From *Kladderadatsch* (Berlin, Germany)**AMERICA AWAKENING**

UNCLE SAM (to the French Premier). "You must not use the victory we won for you as a means of oppressing the whole of Europe!"

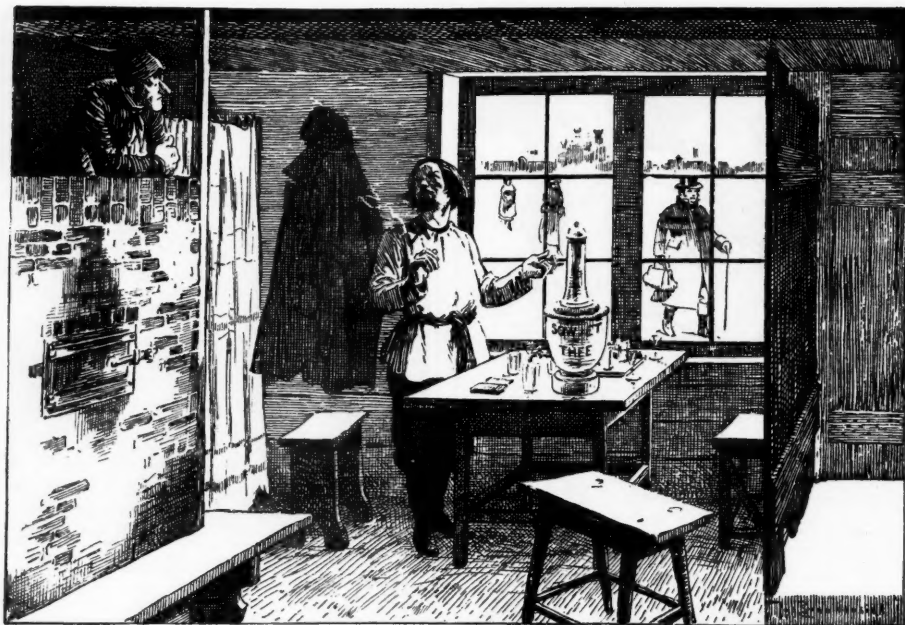
From *Simplicissimus* (Munich, Germany)

THE French Premier, Raymond Poincaré, last month occupied the center of the world's stage; The franc had fallen in value to less than a fifth of normal, before it was checked by an American credit; and much of the blame was laid at the Premier's door. His plans for economy involved the granting to him of extraordinary powers. The Chamber of Deputies had yielded with ample though reduced majority, but in the Senate the Premier came within a few votes of defeat.

**THE DICTATORSHIP IN FRANCE**

(Premier Poincaré and President Millerand): "It's mine!"—"No, it's mine!"

From *Quotidien* (Paris, France)**AN IDOL SLIGHTLY MOTH-EATEN**From *De Notenkraaker* (Amsterdam, Holland)



THE RESUMPTION OF RELATIONS WITH RUSSIA

RYKOFF (new head of the Russian government., to the German Michel): "Warm up the hearth a bit. There are one or two other visitors coming here."

From *De Amsterdammer* (Amsterdam, Holland)



IN THE NEAR FUTURE—THE DIPLOMATIC "CRUSH" AT MR. TCHITCHERIN'S OFFICE

From *Izvestia* (Moscow, Russia)

[Great Britain, Italy, and Sweden have now formally recognized the Russian Soviet government, all within the last few weeks; and this Moscow newspaper expects other countries to follow without further delay]

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BRITAIN IN TRANSITION

BY FRANK H. SIMONDS

[In the present article, sent from London, Mr. Simonds surveys the remarkable transition stage in politics through which Great Britain is now passing. On every side he has found indications of a renewed national vitality and energy. These have profoundly impressed him, as the article shows. Traits of the Elizabethan period are suggested. Our readers may expect in the May number an article written by Mr. Simonds in Paris.—THE EDITOR]

I. AFTER TWO YEARS

RETURNING to London after two years, it is totally impossible not to find, even on the very surface of things, evidences of a profound change: a change in state of mind, in politics, in everything, perhaps, but the immemorial temper and routine of the race. Writing in America of the changes as they seemed from that distance, I spoke last month of England in Revolution. In a sense this was accurate, but, after all, it is more accurate to speak of Britain in transition and, perhaps, even in renaissance.

What one is conscious of in this country now is the amazing return of energy and determination. You have had, roughly speaking, two well-defined periods since 1914—first that of the war, which by its demands, its enormous burdens and agonies, served at least in the end rather to paralyze than to stimulate the national spirit; then the period of peace, or alleged peace, with its enormous disappointments and general disenchantment, which brought in its turn a certain numbness of depression partially induced by almost intolerable economic, financial and political troubles.

Those two periods have manifestly lived and passed. There is beyond any mistaking a new period in full swing in these islands and it is a period of confidence, not of despair. It is a period of revolution, in that it involves many changes, but it is a period of revolution only in the British sense. The nation has gone down into the very depths of its own self to find the strength, the energy and the resolution to confront and surmount the new obstacles. The impression in America that the British Labor upset draws any inspiration from Moscow is quite as inaccurate as the absurd notion that it derives from Fascism. Lenin and

Mussolini are equally unrelated to Ramsay Macdonald.

It is true that the Labor upset has something of the same origin as both the Russian and the Italian revolutions. It is a product of the war and the after-war. It is the reaction of great masses of people to a sense of dissatisfaction, a rather poignant dissatisfaction, with the fashion in which the war was conducted by one set of people, and it is also, like the Italian affair, the consequence of even keener dissatisfaction with those who made peace and ran things after peace was at least formally made.

The fundamental difference, however, between Rome and Moscow on the one hand and London on the other, lies in the intensely conservative character of the British revolutionary. He has no passion for abstract justice. He is not capable of the excesses of anger and resentment which lead to results such as happened in Paris in 1792 and in Petrograd in 1917. Least of all is he even remotely capable of feeling for any man the enthusiasm Russia felt for Lenin, while as for Mussolini, to the solid British mind the Italian dictator is ridiculous rather than impressive, a Cinema Napoleon at most.

What the Briton did feel, millions of him, was that in some fashion things were in an appalling mess; that there had been a mess in the war, a mess in the peace-making and there was still a mess in Europe, where he had fought to establish peace and order. As a consequence of this combination of messes, the home situation was unmistakably bad. Unemployment, taxation and the like worried him, and he had just the hint of suspicion that outside the island limits John Bull was not counting for much of anything.

The inarticulate little man who fought

the war and the little woman who bore its worst burdens, naturally had the sense of having been "let down" by their government, by their leaders, by their press, by most of the things for which they had preserved a qualified reverence and respect. This was quite apparent when I was in London two years ago. What was then not clear was what the Briton, speaking of him in the mass, was going to do about it.

He took his time, as might have been expected. He rejected the Russian method without even getting seriously excited about it. He didn't waste more time with the Mussolini method. Being the intensely national thing that he is, the British man of the masses simply took Mussolini to be a kind of foreign performance which only foreigners could enjoy. He veiled his contempt in good-natured tolerance, but his mood did not give any hint of encouragement for a British dictator.

On the other hand, if he was not prepared to go "red" or "white," that is, to follow either the Russian or the Italian example, it is now fairly plain that the Briton, millions of him, felt that it was still necessary to do something about the mess and the muddle and in some fashion to get back at the leaders and the parties which had "let him down." It looked, for a moment, as if he would just give the thing up as hopeless, and sink back into a sort of passive depression. In the old army parlance he looked "down-hearted."

Rather I should guess he was puzzled, bewildered, and not quite able to see how he could find a British way for doing something that, done in a Russian or Italian way, did not appeal to him. And while he was making up his mind, Stanley Baldwin, the Tory Prime Minister, suddenly opened the way by precipitating a new election. Moreover, the issue of the election, like the fact of the election, was a final grievance for the British millions, who wanted tranquillity, not a new election row.

Thus an almost heaven-sent path opened before the feet of the bewildered and not a little disgusted Briton. At last he could do something which would be British. It would scare some people to death, just the people he wanted to scare. It would encourage some other people, who were getting a little explosive in their temper by reason of domestic abuses and foreign failures. But, in the last analysis it would not

open the way to the smallest danger. Quite without clear thinking or deliberate malice, he decided to have a revolution, without a smell of revolution in it.

II. WHAT THE CHANGE MEANS IN ENGLAND

If an American is going to understand even remotely this British upheaval, he must, I believe, begin by understanding a little of British character and forgetting most of the circumstances of revolution in all other countries. The Briton found himself at the close of last year with an undesired election coming on, and three parties inviting his support. Two he regarded as having definitely failed on the job. One, because it had not deceived him—had not had the opportunity—he felt inclined to support. But his inclination was limited by his caution.

See, then, what he did: He deliberately turned the Tories out, administering to them a downright thrashing. Then he walked past the Liberals, not concealing his contempt, and displayed his friendliness to Labor. He gave Labor the chance to form a government. He made it absolutely inevitable that Labor should have this chance. But he so tied Labor's hands that it can do nothing dangerous. Thus the Briton proceeded to have a revolution, and to put his revolution in a straitjacket. Labor gets no "blank" check. Every note has to be countersigned either by Baldwin or by Asquith.

On the other hand, when a Labor Government became inevitable, and the press and the Tories began to forecast revolution and the Russian dangers, when the eleventh-hour effort was made to keep Labor out, the ironic Britain simply refused to get excited. He refused to see red. He was, I can not help thinking, just a little amused and flattered by the results of his joke—and he refused, quite categorically, to have his purpose interfered with. His sporting sense came into action and impelled by it he demanded fair play for Ramsay Macdonald and for Labor. It was their turn and they should have it.

Whereupon, amazingly, sudden peace descended. Panics in conservative corners and journals ended; excitement vanished. The country coolly adjusted itself to the arrival in a constitutional way of a constitutional prime minister. The Revolution

got itself into a top hat, and all else becoming and fitting, and went to Buckingham Palace and kissed the hand of a King and Emperor, who was quite undisturbed. The "business as usual" sign went up where the red flag had been forecast, and in due course of time Ramsay Macdonald proceeded to disappoint an expectant House of Commons by being infinitely more conservative in taking office than Stanley Baldwin had been in leaving it.

So far, so good; but it is just as easy to underestimate as to overestimate the extent and meaning of the British Revolution. There has never been a Cabinet like the present one. New men, new ideas, a totally different spirit, have suddenly emerged from relative obscurity to limited but considerable power. The tradition of ruling families is broken. The new ministry is in its make-up more completely representative than anything in all the past centuries. It has lords in it, and Labor itself has made a few new lords; but for the most part it comes more directly and diversely out of the very marrow of the British masses than anything in the past.

It may well be that Labor will fail. It is an experiment of a young party led by a few able and trained parliamentarians, but in the main made up of new men and women. If it fails, it will have to step down and give way. Its turn will not come again for some time. It may fail because a few extreme radicals exercise an undue influence and try to hasten the pace of reform and even adopt the step of revolution. If this happens, then Labor may divide and one faction go straggling back into the Liberal party.

Even more likely, in case Macdonald holds out against his extremists and thus splits his party, would be some kind of a fusion between the liberal Liberals and the conservative Laborites, with Labor predominating, to make a new Liberal party. Certainly there cannot permanently be three parties. Certainly either the Liberals or the Laborites must go, for the Tory party will endure. What is to be decided is whether Labor will swallow the larger half of Liberalism, while Winston Churchill leads off a rump to the Tories, or whether some amalgamation will take place. In the latter case no one can forecast which element will predominate, or which set of leaders prevail, although the chances would seem in both cases to favor Labor.

But quite apart from any political question or party problems the outstanding fact in Britain to-day seems to me to be that the determining element in the British revolution is not political at all. It is not comprehended in any party. It may well fail of expression by any party, or be left to the Tories to express—paradoxical as this may sound. What you have is a sense, quite vague; I concede, of a whole nation going through one of those periods of renaissance which if rare are yet familiar in the history of old countries which still preserve essential vigor.

There has been an impression in America in very recent years of a decline in British prestige, prosperity, and governmental efficiency. Reports, most of them from British sources, to be sure, have served to build up the notion that Britain was passing into a temporary if not permanent period of decadence. Now such impressions do not survive after contact with Britain at this moment. Rather you have the sense of touching a country at the moment when a new burst of strength and national vitality is coming.

The impression is of a people which has taken full measure of itself, and—quite inarticulately—has decided that an enormous number of things are radically wrong and must be conservatively righted. But the predominating feeling is of a people which has gone down into its own roots for remedies, which has quite scornfully rejected all foreign expedients, such as red revolutions and white dictators. You have the feeling that anything might come out of Britain now—anything, that is, in the way of miracles of achievement both in public life and in letters—but that whatever did come would be more intensely British than anything that had happened in the years that had elapsed since the Victorian era ended, at least.

In sum, not to elaborate the point too much but to give the final impression, there is a new spirit in Britain, new by contrast with the recent past, old perhaps in relation to other great periods in British history. It is likely in expressing itself to have very far-reaching consequences in and out of Britain. One consequence must be to translate many of the lessons of the war and the post-war period into reforms of every conceivable sort, parliamentary, social, political. But the manner in which it is to be done will not only be British, but so wholly

British as to deceive the observer into the old notion that this most radical of all countries is, after all, truly conservative—that this most radical of peoples is inherently reactionary.

Britain is getting ready to do something about the war. It is setting about an enormously far-reaching reorganization of its whole social and economic fabric, with the lessons of war-failure in mind. Characteristically, it begins by what seems the most preposterous example of the national proclivity for muddling—it has elected a radical government, to scare its own conservatives, and then has tied its hands to prevent its accomplishing anything subversive. But the surface is infinitely deceptive in a country which has the oldest democratic tradition in the world. The British democracy did mean something by what it did. What was done does express about what it desired to express. Each party got its own kind of present from the voter, switches for Tory, castor oil for the Liberal—and for Labor, a little candy, with the promise of more conditionally, and with the prohibition against the eating of too much candy at once.

Now all parties start again with the chance to appreciate accurately the real spirit of the British people. Labor has the first chance to express it, but the other parties have a good opportunity to reflect on their failures and amend their programs. Labor can do nothing without the aid of the others, but there is a whole range of things in which neither of the other parties will dare to oppose Labor if it sets out to do them. That is enough.

It is, then, if I may say so, England that is far more interesting than Labor, fascinating as that term is; England in the throes of what seems on the whole more like renaissance than revolution. And in this mood vastly more insular than even customarily, suspicious of all foreign vanities like Bolshevism and Fascism, equally impatient with the "standpatter" and the "red-flagger." In addition, this Britain is intensely and proudly nationalistic, visibly angry at the way she has slipped out of notice in Europe as a first-class power; not inclined to bluster about it, but deadly in earnest about it, particularly Labor. And the British Revolution, while a fact and an enormous fact, is not political or partisan. Rather it is at once racial and national.

III. LABOR'S PROSPECTS

At this point it is perhaps appropriate to try to meet the inevitable questions: "What will Labor do?" and "How long can Labor last?" These questions, I hasten to say, I have put to scores of men and women in and out of the Government and invariably all answers have been prefaced by the statement that any estimate may be mistaken and every forecast must be a guess, because there is no precedent for the present situation.

Now, accepting these qualifications and recognizing that since Labor is a minority and might be turned out at any moment, the general expectations are these: First, that the Macdonald Ministry will last anywhere from six months to a year, while there is a growing suspicion that its life will be longer rather than shorter than had originally been expected. Second, that when Labor does fall it will fall because the pressure of its extreme radicals will compel the Ministry to propose for action some more radical measure, like capital levy or nationalization of mines.

It is not expected that Labor will at once undertake anything radical, and there are an enormous number of problems, foreign and domestic, on which there is a surprising amount of agreement among all parties and in which Labor can work safely. Among these are unemployment and housing at home, and pacification in Europe. The nation is dead against any new election, and there is no pressing attraction for either the Tories or the Liberals in holding office at the present moment.

In point of fact, there is a very definite national resolve that Labor shall have a full and fair chance to try out its abilities; and any attempt to throw Macdonald out upon a frivolous or merely technical pretext would probably react unhappily upon those responsible at the next election, which would have to follow quickly. Labor, although it is in the minority, has temporarily the support of the majority of public opinion, and while that condition lasts it can stay.

In the meantime it is plain that some rather sweeping modification in parties must come presently. By general agreement it is asserted that in the end the Liberal party is doomed to disappear, that it will open right and left, and that one faction will join the Tories, perhaps outright,

perhaps following some kind of fusion, while the other will go over to Labor. Thus the old two-party system will be restored. Only very extreme Liberals would traverse this forecast.

At the next election, so it is widely asserted, if there were still three parties, Labor might even come back with a clear majority, while if the Liberals broke up, then Labor would come back in a minority but having gained anything from sixty to ninety seats. This would mean a Tory Ministry again, but it would finally establish Labor as the Opposition and mean that ultimately Labor would come back to power "on its own."

One very important factor must be the health of the Prime Minister, who is infinitely stronger than his party, and who has the confidence, the respect—and I should guess the affection—of large numbers of men and women in and out of the House of Commons belonging to opposing parties. If he should break under the terrific strain of his tasks, for he is holding two great positions, then the collapse of Labor might follow promptly. While he leads he may be expected to keep his following in some degree united, too, and no other leader could even begin to do this.

All things considered, Labor is to-day the least homogeneous of the three parties. Last night I heard a debate over the air defense in the House of Commons, and the real divergence was between factions within the Labor party—between what a Tory rather facetiously termed the reactionary Front Bench, that is, the Ministers, and the revolutionary rear benches. The Front Bench was proposing a system of air defense which was no more than the adoption of the program of the Tory Ministry, whereas the back benches wanted to adopt a policy of disarmament pure and simple.

It is, then, going to be excessively difficult for Mr. Macdonald to keep his factions together, and it might be possible for the Tories to take advantage of a split and turn the Government out. But the fact seems established that this would be an unpopular move at the moment; and the Tories are more apt to worry than to openly assault the ministry.

After all the Tory party is itself in a difficult situation. Its present chief, Mr. Stanley Baldwin, was not a success in office and the blunder which brought about the party defeat at the polls was catastrophic. He

has been continued in leadership, but there is general question as to whether he will be able to retain his post permanently or will have to give way to Austen Chamberlain, Sir Robert Horne, or another.

The Tory party, too, has to reorganize and to readjust itself to national conditions and temper. It expects to capture a large fraction of the Liberals, led by Winston Churchill, but it is hesitating between pushing the fusion and waiting for the disintegration of the Liberals to bring about the union naturally. When that moment arrives, assuming that it will, new conditions of leadership will arise.

To sum up, then, the prevailing impression is that Macdonald may last a year, that he will do nothing radical, that he is more apt to fall because his moderation angers his own radicals than because of national anxiety over his radicalism. Labor has a good public, a surprisingly fair press. It has begun well, and it may before it falls go very far in the direction of establishing itself as one of the two surviving parties. And until there is a making over of its opponents, it enjoys the supreme advantage of being the best organized of political units, with a very great impulse of enthusiasm and even of idealism to act as a driving force.

I should, perhaps, add, to answer a familiar American interrogation, that there is nothing to suggest any immediate or even eventual recovery of Lloyd George. He sits beside Mr. Asquith in the Liberal party, but his own following in that force has fallen to next to nothing, and even in the remote contingency of a Liberal Government Mr. Asquith would be Prime Minister.

Labor is solidly hostile, has a great leader of its own, and has no reason or desire to acquire Lloyd George. The Tories are quite unforgiving and bitter. They would not have Lloyd George on any terms, although he might come to them in a Liberal smash. The significant circumstance is that no one could safely predict which way Lloyd George might go. But whether he went to Labor or to the Tory camp, he would be received rather as a soldier than as a general, and in no case as a possible commander-in-chief.

Certainly Lloyd George is too clever and resourceful to be dismissed, from future calculations, particularly as he is still far from old-age handicaps. But his future is certainly obscure, his star by no means in the

ascendant, and neither his influence nor his popularity is discoverable just now.

IV. FOREIGN AFFAIRS

It is in the examination of the foreign policies of the new Labor Government that I find it necessary to revise most completely the impressions derived from afar. To begin with, there is no intention on the part of Ramsay Macdonald to seek an agreement with Germany against France or to build up a European coalition against France. He has undertaken to deal directly with France and has accepted the assumption that settlement in Europe must come through agreement with France.

On the other hand, he has at once undertaken to dispose of any illusions in French minds as to British feelings. In his first direct communication with M. Poincaré—and he resorted at once to direct communication—he said quite baldly that the mass of the British people held France responsible for British unemployment, and regarded the Ruhr as a mistake in policy and an injury to British interests.

But very cleverly he balanced this direct speech with a note of apology when a maneuver of Lloyd George over the alleged Wilson-Clemenceau agreement in Paris threatened to bring new distrust. And a little later he still further placated French opinion by a surprisingly frank interview in a French newspaper, an interview in which he bade the French take his words as they were spoken, not to seek hidden meanings and not to fear secret tricks. Thus he unequivocally adopted the policy of open diplomacy.

Now the great advantage of Macdonald at home and abroad would appear to be that for the first time there is something approaching unanimity in the British mind with respect to France. When Lloyd George was Prime Minister he was so hated and distrusted in many quarters in Britain that, in disputes with France, the French were reinforced by very great elements in Britain and Lloyd George was never able to speak with the authority of a united country.

After Lloyd George went out, the situation resolved itself into a battle between Poincaré and Curzon—a struggle between foreign offices, the main elements in which were hidden, and concerning which the British public had only the impression of being worsted. A deep and profoundly

resentful sense of lost prestige was certainly one of the determining elements in the overthrow of the Baldwin Ministry. England feels that she has not counted in Europe recently, and Britons resent this, none more bitterly than the Laborites.

Moreover, if there has been no break with France there has been a very far-reaching and important change in national sentiment. It is no longer conceivable that France could obtain a direct treaty of guarantee or of alliance from Britain. She may yet have a form of guarantee or of alliance from Britain. She may yet have a form of guarantee through the League of Nations, which might pledge British aid under conditions which were first pronounced upon by the League, but more is no longer possible.

Generous terms in the matter of the French debt to Britain are still to be looked for, but only as a detail in a general settlement and not on the basis of any continued French occupation of the Ruhr. Nor is there any large chance of generous terms for Poincaré, who has become as unpopular in Britain as was Lloyd George in France. The corner-stone of the Macdonald foreign policy is going to be the League of Nations, irrespective of America's attitude, and, broadly speaking, this has national support, even if there is a degree of scepticism in certain quarters.

Labor feels with unmistakable bitterness that Europe is drifting toward a new competition in armaments, which will involve Britain and deflect moneys needed for social improvements at home. It holds France responsible. It will, if necessary, meet French air strength. But if France is to be rehabilitated in British eyes, this competition must not come off. Rather there must be a new conference and a real agreement of limitation in the air and with respect to submarines along the lines of the Washington Conference.

There has been a notable interruption of violent attacks upon France in the press here. Tension has unmistakably relaxed. Englishmen are watching the present flight from the franc in Paris with keen interest and perhaps a certain grim satisfaction, believing that this was an essential preliminary to any real Anglo-French adjustment as the single thing which could demonstrate the fallacy of French policy in the Ruhr and in Europe generally.

All things considered, there is a rather surprising degree of optimism in all quarters

here as regards a European settlement, save perhaps among the champions of Germany on the radical side, who have recently been in the Reich and fear a German collapse. The situation frankly waits upon the findings of the Dawes Committee and one should say, also, upon the belief that Poincaré will soon disappear, either before or as a result of the forthcoming elections, and that his successor will be more reasonable. Actually, British sentiment toward Poincaré is about what I found French feeling to be toward Lloyd George just two years ago, and someone else could probably get much better terms from the British.

Labor's foreign policy, however, although likely to be open and frank, without resort to the Lloyd Georgian method of bewildering skill in close-range debate, or to the Palmerstonian fashion of Curzon in lecturing European nations, will be frankly national, unhesitatingly vigorous. It will not aim at a break with France; rather it will avoid it, so far as seems possible. But it will certainly not be weak, and it is likely to have national backing to an extent which has not occurred since the war.

War and post-war sentimental feeling for France has largely died out. If isolation were possible it would be hailed with applause; but that it is impossible is now generally appreciated. Hatred of France, on the other hand, is still confined to certain rather narrow circles of the advanced radical intellectuals. The nation is pretty obviously irritated with the French, disgusted with the French course in the Ruhr, and insistent that it shall be changed. But it tends to concentrate most if not all its wrath upon the head of Poincaré and would, I venture to guess, feel much more pleasantly toward France if the present premier were superseded.

To sum up, I do not think there is any reason to expect any explosive action on the part of Labor in foreign affairs. Nor is there reason to look for any open break with France or any complete understanding with Germany. The British Government and people have reached fairly clear con-

clusions about Europe, but they do recognize that short of war, which no one wants or will even discuss, settlement must wait upon the arrival of a new spirit in France and this arrival may be retarded rather than hastened by too overt British intervention.

Macdonald's conditions are after all about those of Lloyd George, Baldwin and Bonar Law, with the difference that he has a much stronger hand as a result of the crystallization of national sentiment, and a much freer hand because he had no relations with France during the war and was, in point of fact, openly opposed to the war itself. It is not with him a question of breaking with an ally, with whom he worked for victory—and after all it was this both for Lloyd George and Bonar Law and for the Liberal and Tory parties.

Perhaps I can best close on the note of optimism which is unmistakable here—optimism with respect of a European settlement, with both the date and the terms still totally problematical. To guess from the evidences of national feeling, British prestige is likely to be increased rather than diminished under Labor, and British influence will be more strongly felt on the Continent. Labor feels at least as keenly as do its political opponents that Britain is a great nation entitled to play a great rôle in European affairs. It does not mean to be excluded. There is less passion and bitterness about recent events than I expected to find here, but there is quite as much resolution.

Next month, from Paris, I shall hope to discuss the other side of the picture; but for the moment the British situation is at once stimulating and suggestive. The present seems a vastly interesting moment and outward evidences suggest that the nation itself is on the verge of a period of renaissance and of new virility rather than at a moment of even temporary depression or decadence.

When all is said and done I cannot get away from my original impression of energy, vitality, nation-wide if inarticulate determination, which somehow suggests the Elizabethan rather than the Fifth Georgian age.



THE STATE DEPARTMENT AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

BY RAYMOND B. FOSDICK

(Formerly Under Secretary General of the League of Nations)

THE death of Woodrow Wilson brings up afresh the question of our relationship to the plan for which it may truly be said he laid down his life. Right or wrong, the League of Nations was his vision. It came out of his passionate belief that order could be substituted for international chaos if only the creative intelligence of men could be harnessed to the task. It was with this driving thought in mind that he wove into the treaties of peace the twenty-six articles of the Covenant.

Five years have passed, and he is dead. In these five years the plan which he proposed has slowly matured in form and substance until now it has behind it fifty-four of the world's nations, more than seven-eighths of civilized mankind. If, through the influence of Ramsay MacDonald, Russia and Germany are admitted to its membership, it will leave two or three countries like Iceland, Mexico and Afghanistan, to share the isolation of the United States.

At this time, therefore, we may well ask ourselves what our relationship is to the League of Nations. Is it a relationship of complete aloofness? Have there been "side-door" or "back-door" approaches, to use President Harding's terms? Has any formula been evolved through which we are participating in the growing number of international activities centering at Geneva—activities that touch us vitally at many points? As we stand at the grave-side of Woodrow Wilson and listen to the unstinted tribute that comes from friends and enemies alike, questions such as these have a peculiar pertinence.

Our Official Relationship to the League

The history of these last few years, so far as it concerns our official attitude to the League of Nations, is well worth review. After Mr. Wilson's administration left office, six months passed before the State

Department so much as answered a communication addressed to it by the League. Invitations, requests for information, notices of conferences, reports prepared by the League—all these were received with silence by the State Department. What was perhaps merely an oversight gave color to the impression that, as far as America was concerned, the League of Nations did not exist.

Then came a series of public protests, and in September, 1921, the League received in a single batch fifteen acknowledgments of various communications. These acknowledgments were exceedingly lawyer-like in tone; in fact, they resembled nothing so much as the letters which a lawyer might write to an opposing counsel when he is very anxious not to admit anything damaging to his client. The fifteen letters were almost identical, and they all ended with the following sentence, or one very similar to it: "The Secretary of State has taken note of this information for any purposes of relevancy to the United States as a state not a member of the League of Nations." In November, 1921, another batch of nine such acknowledgments was sent forward to the League, all of them undated; and another group of eleven, also without date, followed in December.

With the ice once broken, the State Department's relations with the League seemed to take on a more friendly guise. A League note on white slavery brought out a sympathetic reply from Mr. Hughes, followed shortly after by another reply on the arms traffic, which, though negative, also expressed sympathy with the objects sought. Then a little later came the first actual appointment, that of a Department of Agriculture official to the League's Commission on Anthrax. Shortly after, Assistant Surgeon General Rupert Blue was appointed to the Opium Committee, with

the result that after a watching brief there came to the next session of the Committee a delegation of no less weight than Chairman Porter of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives, Bishop Brent, Dr. Blue again, and Mr. Edward A. Neville of the State Department. America's proposals were adopted, and at the meeting of the Assembly of the League in September, 1923, with the United States represented by the same delegation, the American plan was unanimously approved.

Meanwhile, Miss Grace Abbott, Chief of the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor, was appointed to the Committee on the Traffic in Women and Children, and her recommendation for an international inquiry was approved.

About the same time, Surgeon General Cumming, of the United States Public Health Service, represented America on the Health Committee of the League, and upon his invitation, one of the series of meetings of the public health officials of some twenty countries was recently held in Washington.

Assistant Surgeon General Blue represented the United States at the League's conference in London, called to consider the problem of anti-toxic serums.

In June, 1923, as a result of Secretary Hughes' note to the Powers that the American Relief organizations must retire shortly from Greece, the State Department sent a representative to the Financial Committee of the League and later to a special subcommittee of the Council, where a comprehensive plan of relief was evolved.

In October, 1923, the United States was represented at the League's Conference on Customs Formalities by a delegation of five, headed by the American Consul at Geneva, Mr. Lewis W. Haskell, and the Director of the Special Agency Division of the United States Customs Service, Mr. Nathaniel G. Van Doren.

In November, 1923, the United States was again represented by Mr. Haskell at the League's Conference on Communications and Transit.

Finally, in this connection may be mentioned the direct participation of Mr. Joseph Grew, the American Minister to Switzerland, in the deliberations of the recent conference at Geneva on the suppression of the traffic in arms.

The United States Government, there-

fore, has now been represented in the League Committees on Health, Anthrax, Opium, Customs Formalities, Communications and Transit, Traffic in Arms, and the Trade in Women and Children.

Unofficial Coöperation with the League

But if this degree of coöperation with the League is true of the Government, it is still more true of unofficial America. The International Health Board of New York has pledged \$33,000 a year for a period of five years to the Health Section of the League, to assist in the publication of periodic reports of current diseases; this same Board has also pledged \$60,000 a year for three years to facilitate the League's plan for the interchange of public health officers among the nations of the world, and it has contributed \$30,000 to promote the study of vital statistics, under the League's Epidemiological Intelligence Office.

The American Society of International Law has given \$7500 to make possible the printing of the League's Treaty Series in English.

The Bureau of Social Hygiene has contributed \$75,000 for the study of the international aspects of the white slave traffic, and Colonel William F. Snow of New York has been appointed chairman of the League's Commission of Inquiry.

American investors bought \$25,000,000 of the loan worked out by the League for the reconstruction of Austria.

John Bassett Moore accepted election to the League's Court of International Justice. Abram Elkus was chairman of the commission appointed by the League in the Aaland Islands dispute. Mrs. Hamilton Wright sat as an assessor on the Opium Advisory Committee. Dr. Hans Zinsser of the Harvard Medical School went to Russia for the Health Committee. Miss Emma Cushman was appointed by the Council of the League as a member of the commission of inquiry to investigate the deportations of women and children to Turkey and Asia Minor.

Professor Seligman of Columbia University sat on the League's Committee on Double Taxation. Professor George Ellery Hale and Professor Robert Andrews Millikan sat on the Committee on Intellectual Coöperation. Henry Morgenthau was appointed chairman of the League's Committee of Control in connection with the international loan to Greece, to take care of

its one million refugees. Norman Davis of New York was chairman of the League's commission which settled the differences between Poland and Lithuania in regard to the province of Memel. Mr. W. P. G. Harding, former Governor of the Federal Reserve Board, has been invited to serve as the League's High Commissioner in the financial rehabilitation of Hungary. A delegation of three experts represented the United States Chamber of Commerce at the League's Conference on Customs Formalities. The American Social Hygiene Association was represented at the Geneva Conference on the White Slave Traffic.

Nor does this recital exhaust the list. More Americans than persons of any other nationality visit the League headquarters at Geneva; more American journalists follow its sessions; more League documents are sold in America than in any other country. In other words, unofficial America is deeply interested and deeply evolved in the League even to-day.

This position, then, America has reached by the sheer force of circumstances. She has not ordained it, analyzed it, or indeed even become cognizant of it. On the contrary, she has drifted to it. Events have shown that if she could refrain from membership in the League, she could not refrain from coöperation. And this coöperation, be it noted, has drawn warm approval from many sides. Scarcely a voice has been raised against it. It is fitting, therefore, that we should take stock, in this fourth year of the League's history, to see exactly where we are to-day and whither we should go to-morrow.

America's Position Highly Unsatisfactory

Far as America has gone in regard to the League, it cannot be denied that her present relationship to it is highly unsatisfactory. Our official representatives—that is, those appointed by government agencies—are present only as "observers"—a shadowy term which in some cases has been conscientiously interpreted to debar them from speaking and voting. Mr. Porter would not even stay in the room to hear the discussion of the measures for white slavery control, but, having presented his own ideas, solemnly led his delegation outside to avoid international entanglements.

To the embarrassment of the conference that was considering the question of the traffic in arms, Mr. Grew was unable to

give any idea whether the United States would be represented at the sub-committee meeting in Paris, or, if represented, whether the delegate could participate in the discussion—a circumstance which led Lord Robert Cecil to the pointed comment that the mere good will of any particular government in a matter of this kind could not be substituted for the efficacy of a universal guarantee. At the Customs Conference last year we had perhaps the ablest representation of any nation, but our delegates went with instructions from the State Department which rendered them as impotent as the Sphinx of Gizeh. For our observers must be officially deaf and dumb. They must represent a point of view which may not be phrased, an inscrutable wisdom which may not be uttered.

The whole matter of our relationship is to the last degree unfortunate. It is irregular, erratic, ineffective, undignified and incomplete: irregular, because it has not the sanction and perhaps has even the disapprobation of Congress; erratic, because it is guided by no fixed rule or policy; ineffective, because while America sits in many preliminary commissions, her voice is silent when the very questions on which she has spent great effort are put to a final decision in the ultimate bodies of the Council and the Assembly; undignified, because America, the richest nation in the world, uses League machinery and League facilities without her government contributing a penny to their upkeep; incomplete, because opposition to the League has prevented coöperation in many other League activities of genuine interest to America, such as disarmament, finance, economics, mandates, treaty registration, international law—in short, nearly all questions of international coöperation.

No American can welcome this situation. Furtiveness and uncertainty are not the proper marks of our foreign policy. It is not characteristic of our method of doing business for the country to drift along on a course which may not have the approval of Congress. It is not American to start a policy without being able to finish it, as was done when Mr. Porter of the House Foreign Affairs Committee fought his opium proposals through to victory in the League Committee, only to be uncertain whether he could follow the matter up in the Assembly, where final success or defeat was to be met. It is not in accord with

our traditions of efficiency to be represented as we were at the Conference on Communications and Transit by a man, appointed at the last minute, who, without preparation, was called upon to cover four highly technical committees that were meeting simultaneously, and were discussing matters of vital importance to the whole future of American commerce.

Intermittently and spasmodically, we find ourselves, as it were, in the basement of the League, a non-paying guest, present by invitation of others rather than by right of our own; anxious to have certain policies adopted, but not yet having thought our course of action through to a final conclusion. We see the League of Nations becoming to an increasing degree the focus of conference and discussion among the governments of the world—the accepted method for handling business which overflows national boundary lines; and yet, although we cannot in our own interest disregard it, we take resort in a shuffling relationship which should be beneath the dignity of a great nation.

The Attitude of the State Department

Surely the State Department cannot be happy about this situation. On several occasions Mr. Hughes has called attention to the reservation which the Senate attached to its approval of our treaty with Germany to the effect that the United States "shall not be represented or participate in any body, agency or commission" without provision of Congress. In a letter published in 1922, he said: "The United States is not a member of the League and I have no authority to act as if it were." All this is of course true, but in the face of our increasing contacts with the work of the League of Nations, this type of defense cannot permanently be maintained. For the State Department has already abandoned its policy of aloofness in regard to the League, and has come to cooperate with such of its activities as have a direct appeal. It has overlooked the ghosts of 1920—Article X, the Six Votes, and the super-state bogey—and has begun to work out a relationship, unsatisfactory as it may be, which serves those interests in which we have a real concern.

The question arises, therefore, whether the State Department might not well prefer to have this relationship which it now sustains to the League of Nations legitimized by some definite understanding. Is it not

time to look the facts of this situation full in the face? If, as Mr. Hughes truly says, he is without authority to act as if the United States were a member of the League, would it not be far better for him to ask for, and if necessary, fight for, Congressional legislation to regularize the present status? Is not the country justified in looking to the State Department for aggressive leadership in a matter of this kind?

If, because of the present condition of political opinion, full participating membership in the League of Nations cannot at this moment be had, could we not take the frank and openly-acknowledged step, through a joint resolution of Congress, of authorizing the President to appoint representatives to sit in such conferences of the League of Nations as may involve the interests of the United States or be of general benefit to humanity? Could not such a resolution provide that we shall contribute our proportionate share to the expenses of these conferences? Would not every reasonable safeguard be imposed if a reservation were added to the effect that, except as regards matters of a purely administrative character, no decision reached by these conferences should be binding upon the United States until ratified by the Senate?

After all, some such straightforward step as this would seem to be essential to our dignity and self-respect. For the events of the last four years have shown all too clearly that the interests of the United States cannot be disassociated from those with which the League of Nations is constantly and intimately concerned. Whatever our theories have been, isolation has proved to be utterly impossible. If, therefore, to-day we were officially to announce to the world that henceforth we would not only be friendly to international cooperation through the machinery of the League, but would actually support it where our support could honestly be extended, we would regain much of the leadership which four years of drift and hesitation have lost for us, and a great forward impetus would be given to this new approach to peace. More than that the world does not, perhaps, at this moment expect.

What Is this League of Nations?

Let us look for a moment at this world movement. The League of Nations represents a new technique in international affairs. The only possible question about it

is the speed of its development and its adequacy to coming crises. Despite the most staggering blow it could have suffered, namely, the withdrawal at the moment of its birth of the most powerful nation in the world, it has steadily developed in power and influence. Launched with thirteen members only, and all of them Allied Powers, it soon drew to itself almost all the other Allied Powers, the thirteen former neutrals, and three of the five ex-enemy states, until to-day its roll, as we have said, numbers fifty-four nations: an organization, in short, which includes nearly all Europe except Germany and Russia, all of North and South America, except the United States, Mexico and Ecuador, all Asia except Afghanistan, and all Africa. The Allied Supreme Council, which was the most powerful military alliance the world has known, and the "Association of Nations" vaguely proposed in America, are now mere history, leaving the League alone in the field of international organization.

More striking than the growth in its membership is the growth in its work and responsibility. Starting with very few specific tasks, it has gathered to itself one activity after another until it is very close to being the custodian of common world interests. During the past four years its organization has been built up in nearly every branch of international life. To-day it has an efficient, quick-moving annual Assembly, a sort of executive committee in the Council, a skilled permanent Secretariat, a strong Labor Bureau, technical organizations on Economics, Finance, Transit, and Health, and expert Committees on Armaments, Mandates, Minorities, Opium, White Slavery, and Intellectual Coöperation.

Whatever the League was intended to be, or whatever its Covenant might have allowed it to be, the supreme fact about it to-day is that the things that it is doing in the world are, above all, the things America wants done. The League is interested in two categories of subjects: first, questions which may lead to war, and, second, questions which make international life better worth the living. On the one hand its members agree not to go to war without arbitration and conciliation, and they have therefore built up an elaborate system of mediation through the Court, the Council, or special negotiation. On the other hand, the League is the trustee of the mandated territories in Asia Minor, Africa, and the Pacific; the

guardian of the rights of millions of minorities in Eastern and Southeastern Europe; the means of coöperation in many problems of international health, finance, economics, transit; and the instrument for many humanitarian activities.

Moreover the way in which the League is doing these things is the way in which America would want them done. The League is not a super-state, an outside, international agency imposing some strange will on reluctant nations. It is, on the contrary, exactly that association of sovereign states which the American people desire. It succeeds, where it does succeed, by consent, not coercion; it fails, where it does fail, because one or more nations are unable or unwilling to agree. The League, in other words, is not a solid entity; it is, on the contrary, a meeting-place and conference table for most of the nations of the world to see how far the common business of humanity can be carried on by mutual agreement and through coöperation.

The League Represents a Natural Evolution

Those who are opposing the League of Nations would seem to be throwing themselves in the way of the irresistible march of events. For a mighty revolution is sweeping the world even in our lifetime. Modern science has split the anciently established order into a thousand fragments. New York and Paris talk to each other by open voice. An airplane flies from Newfoundland to Ireland in sixteen hours. In five years the wireless instrument has changed the whole complexion of modern communications. The planet on which we live is shrinking so rapidly through the advance of invention that while to-day we are in constant touch with the uttermost parts of the earth, to-morrow we shall rub shoulders with the outposts of human life.

The points of contact between nations have therefore increased a thousand-fold, and machinery for easing the friction and handling the problems which this propinquity is fast creating is the paramount necessity of our time. Indeed the creation of such machinery was long past due. An exaggerated nationalism can resist it only temporarily. Even in the last four years, with all our fulminations against the League of Nations, we have not been able to escape the logic of coöperation. The League is in step with the evolution of the times, and its permanency in some form is assured.

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LESSONS FROM OIL LEASES

FURTHER COMMENTS BY A WASHINGTON OBSERVER

BY STEPHEN BONSAI

FACING the task of digesting and stating succinctly what has happened during the carnival of investigation at Washington, one is forced to the conclusion that the miles of telegraphic dispatches that have burned the wires connecting the capital with the most distant hamlet in the land have been written in invisible ink. At all events, they have left but a meagre, unsatisfactory record behind.

True, certain revelations have confirmed first impressions, and deepened convictions of some weeks standing; but unfortunately they have shed little or no light upon the still obscure points in the situation. The special counsel appointed by President Coolidge and approved by the Senate have been exceedingly busy in executive sessions, and have brought suit in the federal court at Cheyenne, Wyo., to annul the lease of the Teapot Dome oil reserve. Special cars laden with legal advisers of the most sought-after and expensive variety have crossed the Rockies with briefs that will endeavor to disprove the unanimous charge of the Senate that the naval oil leases were executed by fraudulent and corrupt means.

While the lessees are preparing a stern battle to maintain the leases they secured, and also to justify the uses they have put them to, they are acting reasonably and with a due appreciation of the situation in regard to the minor phases of the conflict. It is understood that without awaiting a court order, much less an injunction, the lessees had ceased drilling new wells and had also stopped taking oil from producing wells except from "gushers" which are difficult to control.

There is another phase of the tangle that requires intelligent and reasonable action, which it is hoped in Washington, particularly in naval circles, will not long be delayed. The mammoth oil tanks on the shores of Pearl Harbor (Hawaii) are in a very dangerous state of semi-completion,

exposed to winds and storm and tide. Complete cessation of construction work would be most dangerous. In this dilemma, for which it is feared the courts can find no immediate solution, Mr. Doheny has offered President Coolidge to continue the work to completion, at an expense of many hundred thousand dollars without any guarantee of reimbursement except after the courts have passed upon all phases of the question. This offer is under consideration by the special counsel, to whom the President turned it over; and the ranking officers of the Navy are, it is understood, unanimous in urging its acceptance.

It had been generally accepted at first that the legal battle would be fought over the question of whether or not there had existed a conspiracy to defraud the Government. However, this phase of the prosecution was side-tracked for the moment, and a bill of equity against the Mammoth Oil Company—the Sinclair corporation which secured the lease of the Teapot Dome—was filed in Wyoming on March 13. Similar steps were to be taken in California to reestablish Government possession of the oil reserves there. In the Wyoming suit the federal judge immediately granted a temporary injunction and appointed receivers. It is now understood that the Government will move more deliberately in taking the expected criminal action for conspiracy in Washington.

As far as a survey of facts, so greatly to be desired, is concerned, it is admitted here in Washington that the senatorial investigators have made but little progress in the last month. Indeed, severe criticism is heard in many quarters, not only of the meagre results obtained by the committees, but also of the course and line of investigation that is being pursued. This is true of the Brookhart-Wheeler committee, investigating charges as to the administration of the Department of Justice under Mr.

Daugherty, as well as of the course pursued by the original oil committee long dominated by Senator Walsh, of which Senator Lenroot, for reasons of impaired health and possibly for failure to secure the full support of his colleagues in the Senate, has recently resigned the chairmanship.

A fuller appreciation of the difficulties with which the investigators are confronted would tend to moderate the severity of these criticisms. Some of the members of these committees did not, perhaps, recognize at first the heavy responsibility they were under to the Congress and to their constituents. But they recognize it now, and the extraordinary experiences which have been theirs in the course of the prolonged sessions have taught them that there is no incident so insignificant that it can be ignored and no "lead" so trivial as not to require careful exploration.

The McLean Incident

To illustrate this state of affairs: Six weeks ago best informed opinion here was unanimous in the belief that the relations of the nominal editor of a Washington paper with those members of the administration at present subject to criticism, were strictly confined to the golf links and to other social amenities. It is now quite clear that this assumption was without foundation in fact and it is to-day admitted that had not this relationship been thoroughly investigated the transactions which are shortly to be subjected to the most careful scrutiny in the courts would have escaped the close attention that is being bestowed upon them and which Senators believe that they richly deserve.

In these circumstances and in the light of this experience it is natural—and, I think, commendable—that no member of the Walsh committee will venture to oppose his veto to the suggested exploration of any line of inquiry or trail, however unpromising it may seem at first glance. As proof of this attitude, I need only say that not only Senator Walsh, but every member of the committee voted to spread the telegrams exchanged between President Coolidge and Mr. McLean on the public record. It was decided to give them the fullest publicity, although a majority of the committee was persuaded that they were trivial communications—sent, as far as the President is concerned, perfunctorily from the executive offices in the White House, perhaps without

due consultation with the President at all. In the present atmosphere of suspicion in which we are living, no Senator would take personal responsibility for stopping any phase of the investigation, or for restricting it to what he may have thought, and many certainly did think, were more proper or at least more dignified channels.

In the last four weeks the oil conflagration has flared up brightly almost daily. Scores of men in public life have been scorched, or think they have been. But of new, vital facts, few have been disclosed; and the committee is the target of charges of sensationalism that have yet to be sustained.

The chief interest for a time centered upon Mr. McLean, the owner and the nominal editor of a Washington paper. It will be recalled that some weeks ago, when the suspicion deepened that the money which financed ex-Secretary Fall's lavish purchase of ranches in New Mexico came from unwarranted sources, Mr. McLean saved the situation—temporarily at least—by announcing that he had placed his opulent bank account at his friend's disposal. Ex-Secretary Fall made the same explanation, but the suspicion would not down that his sudden affluence was not entirely unconnected with the oil leases of the naval reserve to wealthy and powerful oil companies—leases which had signalized Mr. Fall's two years' stay in the Cabinet.

With something approaching intuition, Senator Walsh, the dominant figure in the investigation, would not be content. Finally, in the hope of satisfying him so that the investigation might be closed and the colorless findings turned over to the Attorney-General's office to sleep in the archives, the committee authorized him to proceed to Florida and confront the opulent and generous McLean.

Scores upon scores of telegrams which have now been seized by the committee, and spread on the record of the investigation, reveal that underlings at the White House and in the Attorney-General's office had during the preceding weeks kept the absent editor of the Washington paper in touch with the course of events as they saw it. It was even intimated that one of Mr. McLean's leading editors possibly had taken the matter up with the President himself. At all events, on January 29, the chief editorial writer of the McLean paper in Washington sent his owner—who was evidently growing nervous—a tele-

gram to the effect that he had "seen the principal and delivered your message." The telegram also conveyed the assurance, from what source derived was not clearly stated, that there "would be no rocking of the boat and that he expected reaction from unwarranted political attacks."

Naturally some partisans concluded that the "principal" was none other than President Coolidge, especially as trivial messages direct from the President to McLean had been caught up in the senatorial dragnet. On the stand, Mr. Bennett, the editor, revealed the "principal" as Senator Curtis, whereupon that distinguished whip of the Republican party went on the stand and sharply repudiated the charges, denying that the editor had testified accurately.

These and half a dozen other controversies that have arisen are very petty, and the general public finds them nauseating. No one is inclined to convict President Coolidge upon the say-so of a doorkeeper at the White House; nor the Attorney-General, Mr. Daugherty, upon the private outgivings in telegraphic form to Mr. McLean of his publicity agent. But, on the other hand, the lesson of the investigation is clear: what success has been achieved has come from the persistent following of "leads" apparently quite as trivial as those which occupied the attention of the Senatorial committee for several weeks.

Oil Discussed by the Navy since 1906

Of more immediate significance, perhaps, than the telegrams, coded and decoded, which may lead nowhere, are the conversations which I have enjoyed in the last few days with a distinguished admiral, now retired, who will shortly be called to shed light on many of the earlier and more important phases of the oil situation. He sat on the General Board of the Navy, which first considered the oil fuel situation as it was revealed by developments nearly twenty years ago. Indeed it was this officer who first proposed the plan for a naval reserve.

As becomes his three score years and ten, this officer views the situation and the frustration of what he has regarded as his life's work with remarkable equanimity. He finds no particular individual greatly to blame, but is willing to admit that the human animal is running true to form, as was to be expected. Looking back into his personal log book, my admiral finds that

the question first came up in 1906. The General Board had before it tentative plans for four new battleships, and the question immediately arose—one that for a time was hotly discussed—whether the new ships should burn coal or oil.

A committee of experts was appointed, and for reasons with which the whole world is now familiar, they reported in favor of fuel oil, but with this proviso: assurance had to be secured that this fuel would always be available. The life of the battleship as then planned was twenty-five years. With this was contrasted an official report of the geologists of the Interior Department to the effect that the visible fuel oil supply within the continental borders of the United States would not last more than twenty years. The possibility was suggested that for the last five years of the life of the ships of this class they would have to be tied up to the docks for lack of fuel appropriate to their construction.

A growing appreciation of the facts in the case in ever-widening circles, embracing the White House and Congress, led to the agitation which resulted in the creation of the naval reserves, and the oil-burning battleships were built. The admiral emphasized the fact that these reserves were not intended to supply the Navy with oil at less than market prices, or to give the Secretary of the Navy the whip hand over possible oil profiteers. No, the Navy was to regard this reserve as an "iron portion" only to be used in the last extremity. Oil would be purchased as it was needed, on the best possible market terms. We might lose out in a naval war or a naval battle, but as long as these reserves were kept intact and safeguarded, we could not lose a battle or a strategic position for lack of oil.

Under the Wilson Administration

The legislation under which the naval reserves were ultimately leased to private operators became the law of the land by unanimous action of Congress in June, 1920. It was an amendment to the Naval Appropriation bill, and an examination of the *Congressional Record* shows that this amendment was carefully studied and very intelligently discussed. Since the dissipation of the oil became known and the Walsh committee brought to light the unsavory details (or some of them at least) of how it was done, members of the Naval Committee of the Senate who approved, if they

are not entirely responsible for this legislation, have made public confessions on the floor of the Senate that are creditable to them in every way. In these "experience meetings" able Senators—generally as far apart as Lodge and Lenroot for the Republicans, and Walsh and Swanson for the Democrats—have done what it was possible for them to do to show how uncertain is the fate of the most carefully studied legislation and how the letter can be maintained without embarrassment to the hostile spirit that is determined to frustrate its purpose.

The distinguished legislators whom I have mentioned, with an aggregate of seventy years of senatorial experience, are in perfect agreement that the legislation was drafted in the Navy Department for the sole purpose of conserving the vital oil deposits for which Secretary Daniels had fought so valiantly; and they are equally in agreement that no changes were made but to strengthen this purpose. In another and even more important detail these distinguished Senators are in absolute accord. They have stated on the floor, one after another, that no member of Congress would have voted for the amendment unless he had been convinced that it conserved in the most rigid way our oil resources. They all voted for the amendment, and yet this is the very legislation by which a few months later the irreplaceable fuel of commerce and of naval warfare was turned into steel tanks and dredges, into a lot of other things, perhaps also into stock dividends.

Mr. Josephus Daniels, then Secretary of the Navy, states in his evidence that "the only object of the amendment was to enable the Navy Department to dig off-set wells in the naval reserve or to lease such wells to other parties when otherwise oil might be lost. There was no such danger in Teapot Dome or in the Elk Hills Reserve. Nothing was further from my intention than to change the fixed policy of preserving the oil under ground. The intent of the law was merely to give the Navy Department the right to protect its reserves and to deal wisely with such supplies of oil as had to be developed in carrying out this protective policy, and a lease was in contemplation only of such portions as could be conserved in the ground. To accomplish these important ends the Department was limited to the use of a sum not to exceed \$500,000."

The expense of the protective measures was limited to this sum, while the contracts

of the exploiters which the Senate has voted to cancel already far exceed \$100,000,000. Here it should be said that during his whole term of office Mr. Daniels, the Secretary of the Navy under President Wilson, kept in check those who sought—first by legal means and then, later, by plausible and superficially promising leases—to obtain the reserves. He believed that these reserves were set aside for the exclusive use of the Navy, and that they "might one day constitute an indispensable element of national safety." And in this belief he repeatedly declined to recommend any legislation that would permit any lease except such as might be necessary to prevent the loss of oil through the encroachments of private drillers on adjacent property.

Unfortunately, means were found, which are now under investigation, to convert by legal or illegal means this very bulwark of protection into an instrument of exploitation by which the reserves were, to speak very moderately, diverted from their original purpose. Under the protective bulwark and safeguard which the Secretary of the Navy drafted and Congress—after study—confirmed and sanctioned, dredging and tankage contracts were entered into and paid for with the precious oil certificates. The result is that only 6 per cent. of the crude oil extracted from the reserve domains is found to-day in the form of fuel oil in the naval base tanks.

The evidence of Senator Lodge is equally illuminating, for as he well says, "both parties are equally responsible for this legislation." He further states that "the question of Naval Reserve oil had been before the Senate Committee on Naval Affairs for several years, and we thought we had established the reserves on a sound basis. Looking at it now, I see the act was more broadly drawn than I thought; but the only question before us, I think, is whether under that act the given powers have been exceeded." Mr. Lodge further declared that "the Secretary of the Navy, Mr. Daniels, was strongly opposed to any encroachments on the oil reserves, and so was I; and so was the Senator from Virginia." "And so were all the Senators and all the Representatives in Congress," added Mr. Swanson, the Virginia Senator referred to by Mr. Lodge.

"I agree with Senator Lenroot," Mr. Swanson continues, "that the act shows

that there was no such policy contemplated by us as has been outlined by Admiral Robison and finally consummated by the new Secretary of the Navy and the Secretary of the Interior; and I am satisfied that there would not have been a single vote in Congress in favor of such a policy."

Conservationists versus "Distributors"

Let us leave the many investigations in progress, confident that they are in good hands and also believing that the man-hunting proclivities of a section of the press are being humanized by a growing appreciation of the requirements of fair play. Then let us look more closely into the conditions under which the corrupt practices complained of and exposed were possible, and see how they may be prevented in the future. It should not be lost sight of that the whole affair is but a skirmish in the battle that has been waged now for twenty years between those who are known as conservationists and the "distributors"—sometimes and not always improperly called the "exploiters"—of our national resources.

Great pressure was exerted on President Harding by the conservationists against the transfer of the oil reserves from the Navy to the Interior Department, from Denby to Fall. At the same time a very determined onslaught was made upon the national forest reserves. One of these predatory forays failed and the other succeeded. The explanation is that public opinion was educated and consequently easily aroused in the matter of the forest reserves, while it was almost wholly unlightened as to the vital importance of the oil deposits.

It is well known in Washington that through several administrations efforts had been made to destroy or at least to undermine the meager achievements of the conservationists. In both the Taft and the Wilson administrations appeal was taken to Congress, but in every instance the appeal failed and the conserving legislation was maintained, although the other point of view had many strong supporters—among whom were Senator Harding, who became President; Senator Fall, who was made Secretary of the Interior; and Representative Denby, who became Secretary of the Navy. But those who favored "western development" decided that they should abide their time and work through the execu-

tive. When Mr. Harding, undoubtedly a convinced anti-conservationist, entered the White House, they immediately set to work; and in a few weeks the famous executive order so helpful to the plans of the "distributors" was issued.

Difference between Legislative and Executive Branches

All this is true, but it is not the whole truth. The legislation, and the interpretation that was put upon it by the Navy Department, will never be understood except by those who are acquainted with the conditions now and for a long time existing between the legislative branch of the government and the departmental chiefs. The latter seem always reading into congressional enactments authority for carrying out their fondest wishes. It is exceedingly difficult to get the departmental chiefs to do what they are told, and unfortunately there are not a few instances in which we are to be congratulated upon acts of disobedience. But it is a fact, and a dangerous fact, that departmental officials are very prone to interpret legislation so as to cover projects which have been curtailed or even flatly condemned by Congress.

This is not entirely a question as to what is right. It is rather one of governmental discipline. Doubtless the departmental authorities are frequently better informed as to their needs than are the always over-worked and sometimes careless Congressmen. On the other hand, the members of the congressional committees should be, and generally are, better informed as to the general needs of the country; and theirs is the responsibility to sanction expenditures that will prove of the greatest value to the greatest number. This want of team-work between the legislative branch and the executive, as represented and determined by the departmental officials, is to-day the dominant note of a collaboration which should be harmonious and yet results in lamentable confusion—as will be testified to again and again by the scores of investigating committees which are now at work.

Budget control and efficiency boards will not attain their desirable objectives unless more harmonious team-work is brought about between these two bodies of public servants. Some common ground will have to be found between the decisions of Congress, not invariably based on full knowledge or resulting from careful consideration

of all the facts, and the departmental chiefs whose vision is often circumscribed to their own needs and who frequently ignore congressional decisions and also quite frequently seek to get around them.

If this state of affairs and the conditions that make it possible are borne in mind, what happened between Congress and the Departments in the matter of the naval oil leases will be more easily understood, if no less deplorable. There is some difference of opinion as to whether the legislation under which outsiders entered the naval reserve was happily drawn; but there is a perfect unanimity of opinion that the purpose was to protect the naval reserves from encroachment by the simple device of drilling "off-set" wells, and to confer upon the Secretary of the Navy the right to sell, exchange, and store the oil coming from these wells—that is, to exchange crude oil and its products for fuel oil available for steaming purposes at naval bases.

Admiral Robison's Position

It so happened that Admiral Robison, who had succeeded Admiral Griffin as head of the engineering department of the navy, was strongly opposed to the policy so long and so valiantly defended by his predecessor. He developed his whole attitude on the question very frankly in an executive hearing before the committee, and what he said then has now been made public. He stated that the only oil the navy could count on in an emergency was oil immediately available at the bases. He made the statement that the oil left in the domes out in the California and Wyoming hills would not be a factor in the emergency of hostilities, though it might help us to pay a tribute imposed by some conqueror as the result of a war in which we had been unsuccessful because of want of preparedness in the matter of fuel oil.

With this as background, it is easier to understand Admiral Robison's attitude when he received through bureaucratic channels Congressional authority to make a lease for the digging of twenty-odd off-set wells and for the construction of tanks, limited to \$500,000, in which to store the oil. It does not appear that he went before Congress and asked for a tankage and a dredging fund requiring the appropriation of more than \$100,000,000. He apparently never thought of that. But he utilized the power to make the limited leases that

came to him from Congress and sought to strengthen our defenseless position—which he thought needed strengthening, particularly in the Pacific—without due appeal to Congress for an appropriation. And he evidently thought it desirable to avoid this step, which would have entailed publicity and—as he frankly confessed—might have been unsuccessful.

I stated in my article last month that there are a few naval officers of high rank who agree with Admiral Robison up to a certain point. Many are with him in his belief that the crude oil in the domes is unavailable, even if not drained away, in the event of a national emergency. But while admitting that his premises are plausible, and agreeing that he was doubtless actuated by high motives, they are generally inclined to believe that he would be greatly disappointed in the results obtained by carrying out this policy. To these officers the oil in tanks at the naval bases is too accessible, and they greatly fear that it might be dissipated before the emergency arose against which the naval reserves were made. They fear that under orders of the fuel comptroller of the navy these oil tanks on the coast might be tapped in any fiscal or budget emergency. Indeed, they go a little farther than this: they say that only a very few officers (and these cannot tell unless brought before the committee under subpoena) are aware whether the oil that under the leases has been placed in the tanks at Pearl Harbor is still there.

It should be borne in mind that the navy is rationed as to fuel expenditure. The money for it is specifically appropriated, and sometimes it is exhausted before the end of the fiscal year. In these circumstances many responsible naval officers are inclined to believe that the reserve oil, if accessible in tanks, might be used; and they are further inclined to believe, with their special knowledge, that it might not be replaced or repaid when the next year's appropriation is available. So in practice it would seem that availability of oil reserves can be carried to excess.

What Should Be Done?

If we refuse to follow the trail of the dress suit-cases with their unusual burden of greenbacks, and attach but little importance to the decoded messages between the Palm Beach butterflies and their unus-

pecting and unsuspected friends—if we refuse to follow these fascinating “leads” and learn the lesson which a plain recital of what really happened brings home so clearly, many persons here in Washington believe it would be a cheap lesson indeed, even at the admittedly fearful price we are called upon to pay. In the story of the oil leases the want of collaboration between Congressional authority and Departmental executives carries with it a suggestion of conspiracy to defraud and plain indications of corruption. But there are available incidents illustrating a similar want of teamwork occurring here every day, with only less deplorable results, where the discord resulting from direct disobedience is open and aboveboard and only casually referred to as conflicts of authority or of interpretation.

Here we have a law drawn by a member of the Cabinet, who in defense of what he knew was right had for years faced villification, grotesque caricature, and subtle innuendo of the most cruel and reckless character. Four of the most distinguished members of the Senate, putting aside partisanship, assist him and seek to strengthen his purpose with helpful suggestions. The fruit of their long legislative experience, and the product of all this wisdom and study is approved and sanctioned by unanimous vote of Congress. Yet this law is transformed into the pretext or instrument under which the oil reserves—if not looted—are tapped for purposes only indirectly, if at all, connected with those for which they were originally set aside out of the public domain.

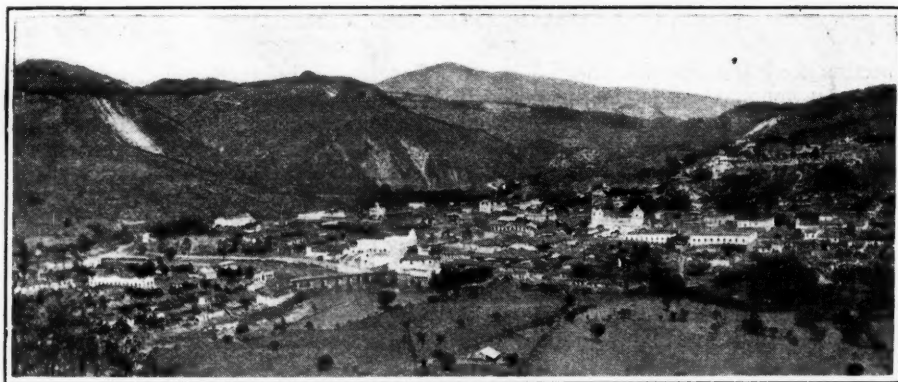
How can we prevent a repetition of this scandal, and how can we draw profit from this bitter experience? Some think that Congress should enroll a corps of skilled students of politics and constitute a drafting committee, whose duty it will be to see to it that legislation shall say for all time what the legislators really had in mind. Many of sound judgment, however, think that this innovation at best would prove to be but a slight palliative of present conditions. They are of the opinion that there will never be proper team-work between

Congressional authority and those who are sworn to carry out its wishes and decisions until some man of high rank is summarily remove and if possible severely punished for frustrating the plans and policy of Congress, or for taking, or acquiescing in, the step which may enable others to do this very thing.

Reading by request this ill-starred legislation to his colleagues in the Senate several days ago, Senator Lodge said, reflectively: “It is broader than I remembered it to have been.” In a word, the responsible head of the department was not treated as a manikin. He was left with some discretion. He was permitted to lease off-set protective wells to private companies if they could do the work to better advantage. At his discretion, he was permitted to exchange the crude oil secured by the protective drilling for fuel oil, the needed form; and he was given authority to store a limited amount of these oils, if the market was glutted or for other reasons. The result of this moderately broad authority is that the nation was divested of its oil properties, (as long as they contain any oil) lock, stock, and barrel.

If this lesson is lost on the people we may be certain it will not be lost on Congress. There it is recognized that the intelligent discretion left to the Secretary of the Navy proved the loop-hole which made possible the looting of the reserves. Perhaps the next time a department chief returns to his office from the Capitol, after a bout with his committee, bound hand and foot and gagged with special provisions which may permit him and his department to drag along a miserable and costly existence, yet forbidding him to act quickly and intelligently in any emergency, he may recall this Congressional justification. He may be told what happened with the Naval Reserves and why, but probably not. In Washington only men with short memories survive, and with the passing of the succeeding administrations, except for the record of partisan brawls, the slate is not only sponged off; it is broken to bits, and the bits are buried out of sight altogether.





TEGUCIGALPA. CAPITAL OF HONDURAS

(The city is 3500 feet above sea level. At the left of the picture, connected with the capital by a concrete bridge, is the city of Comayagua)

THE BACKGROUND OF THE REVOLUTION IN HONDURAS

BY CHARLES W. HACKETT, PH. D.

(Associate Professor, Latin-American History, the University of Texas)

[Uncle Sam can no longer afford to abstain from efforts of various kinds to promote the peace and progress of Central America, the West Indies, and the whole Caribbean region. The United States has developed an enormous market for bananas; and this, together with the growing market for coconuts, has brought unwonted prosperity to Honduras during recent years. It is unfortunate that political rivalries should so frequently interfere with the economic advance of Central America. Professor Hackett, of the University of Texas, who is an authority on the Spanish-speaking republics, has recently visited the little Central American republics; and his account, which we present herewith, of the recent revolution and existing political deadlock in Honduras is a narrative of a type which the history of Central America has repeated hundreds of times.—THE EDITOR]

OF THE five republics in Central America, Honduras, with its extremely ignorant and unprogressive population, its poor means of communication, and its record for political and financial instability, offers marked contrasts to some of its neighbors. The present situation illustrates this statement.

In the latter part of October, 1923, presidential elections were held. Because of a constitutional provision—which requires that for election to the presidency a candidate must obtain an absolute majority of the votes cast—the popular elections were indecisive, and all efforts to break the deadlock have since failed. It is this situation which is directly responsible for the imposition of a dictatorship on February 1, 1924, and also for the outbreak of a civil war in which the three disappointed presidential aspirants are playing leading parts. In this article an attempt is made only to

analyze the political developments in Honduras which culminated in the dictatorship and civil war, and not to narrate the full course of events since then.

A Heated Presidential Campaign

The leading political groups in Honduras are the so-called Liberal and Conservative parties. These party designations, however, are misleading; they do not denote, as their names imply, a leaning toward liberalism or conservatism. The strength of each party is based upon personal leadership rather than on political principles or creeds, and there is in reality little or no difference in the character of their membership. Since February 1, 1920, a Liberal administration, headed by President Rafael López Gutiérrez, has been in power. The insecurity of his administration is fully revealed by the fact that between February 1, 1920, and August, 1923, there were no fewer than thirty-three

revolutionary outbreaks in the republic. On three occasions martial law was proclaimed and the streets of the capital were raked with machine guns. It was under such conditions that more than a year ago there was launched one of the most heated presidential campaigns in the history of Central America.

In an ordinary contest between Liberals and Conservatives the former, during the past year, should have had a marked advantage through the support of the Liberal administration then in power. The Liberals, however, were unable to settle upon any one man as the party candidate. As a result, their normal strength was divided by the active candidacies of two very prominent party leaders, both ex-presidents of the republic, Dr. Juan Angel Arias and Dr. Policarpo Bonilla. The former is a wealthy landowner and agriculturalist and a prominent physician of Santa Barbara, capital of the department of the same name.

Three Rival Candidates

Dr. Arias' political experience has been limited and unfortunate. In the early part of 1903 he was a member of a Council of Ministers charged with executive powers, and, by virtue of a legislative decree, he served as President from February 16, 1903, until April 13 of the same year, when his government was overthrown.

Dr. Policarpo Bonilla, though nominally a Liberal, may be characterized as half-conservative and half-liberal. He served as constitutional President from February 1, 1895, until February 1, 1899, during which time he administered the Government with an iron hand. In the course of the recent campaign Dr. Bonilla's enemies, particularly the Arias newspaper, *Los Sucessos*, boldly claimed that while President he had been directly responsible for the death of 4000 people. A brilliant and polished gentleman, Dr. Bonilla is probably the best known lawyer in Central America. His diplomatic service has been varied. He has served as Minister to the United States and he was delegate of Honduras at the

Paris Peace Conference after the Great War. In the latter capacity he made a speech in Paris in which he bitterly attacked the Wilson plan for a League of Nations. Prior to that Dr. Bonilla had severely criticized President Wilson's policy toward Latin America in a pamphlet, published in New York in March, 1914, entitled: "Wilson Doctrine: How the Speech of President Wilson at Mobile, Alabama, has been Interpreted by the Latin American Countries." More recently Dr. Bonilla has served as head of the Honduran Boundary Commission investigating the basis for a boundary with Guatemala.



RAFAEL LOPEZ GUTIERREZ

(President of Honduras from February, 1920, until his death last month. For six weeks prior to his death he had ruled as absolute dictator, with a revolution on his hands. His chief political ambition was to see the creation of a Central American federation.)

At the beginning of the presidential campaign the choice of the Conservatives was General Fausto Dávila, who has been characterized by one American observer as the only real Conservative in Honduras. General Dávila is an experienced diplomat. He has been Minister to the United States, and in 1911 was one of five Honduran delegates at the historic Tacoma Conference. During the López Gutiérrez administration he fell under suspicion of the Government and was arrested and thrown into prison. After his release he left Honduras on February 1, 1922, and since then has been living in exile in El Salvador. After leaving Honduras, General Dávila publicly claimed that during his imprisonment he had been tormented by being strapped into an electric chair into which was turned intermittent moderate charges of electricity. He fixed the responsibility for this alleged persecution upon Carlos Lagos, brother-in-law of President López Gutiérrez, and Angel Zuñiga Huete, Minister of Gobernación and Justice in the López Gutiérrez cabinet.

Under these circumstances it would have been dangerous for General Dávila to have made an active campaign for the presidency. The Conservatives, therefore, were forced to select another candidate; and their choice was a former Liberal, General Tiburcio Carías. General Carías has not played a very active part in politics and the only administrative office which he has held is

that of Governor of the Department of Cortés, of which San Pedro Sula is the capital. As an administrator he has shown no marked ability. He is, however, popular with the masses and with the army. He apparently affects the uncouth, is noted for his stubbornness, and is slightly anti-foreign in sentiment.

Liberals Fail to Unite

In the selection of General Carías there was a tactical advantage which the Conservatives did not overlook. In case a revolution developed in connection with the election, as seemed probable to all, the Conservatives felt that the United States Government would probably refuse to recognize the eligibility of any candidate who had taken part in the revolution. In this connection it may be said that it is generally admitted in Honduras that no government can last long in that country without the recognition of the United States. Under such contingencies, the Conservatives realized the desirability of not endangering the chances of their original choice for the presidency by allowing him the opportunity to take part in the apparently inevitable revolution. Once this prospective revolution was over, and after Carías had in effect been eliminated, by participation in it, then the Conservatives might, they figured, with impunity promote the candidacy of General Dávila, in case their strength, as displayed in the prospective revolution, might seem to justify this.

As early as March 31, 1923, the presi-

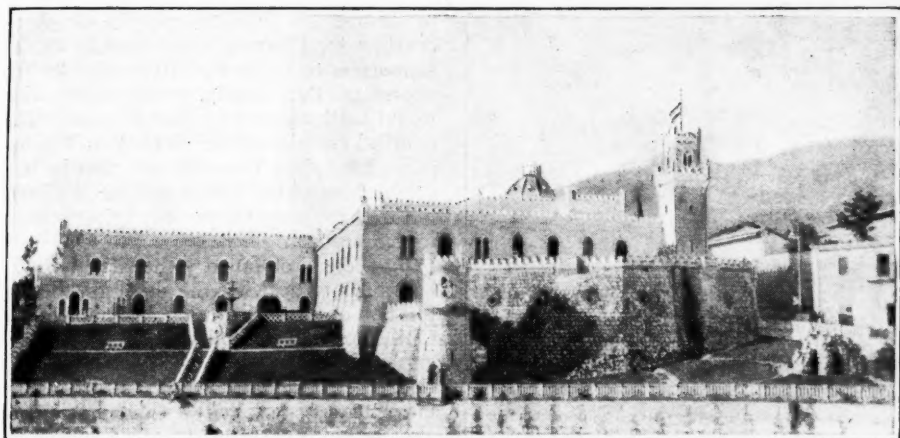
dential campaign had become so heated that even President López Gutiérrez admitted that a revolution was imminent. At this juncture the United States Minister, Mr. Franklin Morales, offered friendly mediation between the presidential aspirants and requested that the Liberal candidates and leaders get together and decide upon one Liberal candidate. The Liberals agreed to this suggestion but kept postponing the conference until April 28. Nothing came of it, however, because Dr. Bonilla, who at that time was thought to have the support of the minority of the Liberals, refused to withdraw from the race.

By August 1, at which time the present writer arrived in Tegucigalpa, the political situation in Honduras may be summarized as follows: Dr. Bonilla was generally conceded to have the support of the López Gutiérrez administration. There had been no formal announcement to this effect by the Government, but military commanders favorable to General Carías were being suspended from their commands, or were being transferred to different localities and their places were being filled with officers and soldiers loyal to Dr. Bonilla. At that time the chief supporter of the López Gutiérrez government was Carlos Lagos, the President's brother-in-law, who, in December, 1922, had been appointed Governor of the Department of Atlántida, with headquarters in La Ceiba; and he was known to have the support of no less than 3000 Nicaraguans and 2000 Salvadoreans. These were professional soldiers, all of whom

were drawing pay, some from the national Government, and some from plantations along the coast. Lagos professed loyalty to the Government and to the candidacy of Dr. Bonilla, but it was generally known that he himself had presidential aspirations. General Carías and his followers were greatly alarmed by the manipulation of the military forces of the Government and but for the sobering influence of Minister Morales, General Carías, in protest, would probably have started a revolution in July.



HONDURAS AND ITS FOUR SISTER REPUBLICS OF CENTRAL AMERICA (WITH BRITISH HONDURAS)



THE PALACE OF THE PRESIDENT OF HONDURAS, AT TEGUCIGALPA

The presidential prospects of Dr. Arias were, at that time, really brighter than those of either of his opponents—and this, too, despite the fact that Dr. Bonilla was regarded as the choice of the administration, and despite the further fact that General Carias unquestionably had the support of a plurality of the voters. This is explained by the fact that according to the Honduran constitution a presidential candidate must, to be elected, receive an absolute majority of the votes cast in the popular elections. In case no one candidate receives such a majority it then falls to the National Congress to elect from the three high candidates in the popular elections.

On August 1, Dr. Miguel Oquell Bustillo, President of the Supreme Court and also President of the last session of the National Congress, announced his support of Dr. Arias. Out of a total of 42 Congressmen, this gave Dr. Arias 22 who were pledged to vote for him in case the election went to the National Congress; and in such a contingency the Constitution also requires that a candidate, to be elected, must receive an absolute majority. Dr. Arias therefore based his hopes for election on the probability that the popular October elections would be indecisive.

Attitude of the United States

Meanwhile the United States Government on July 2, through American Minister Morales, formally called the attention of the López Gutiérrez government to the politico-economic conditions and emphasized the grave situation in which Honduras would

be placed if some satisfactory "agreement should not be reached between all the Honduran presidential candidates that would avert revolution and its resultant disruption. Notice was also given that the United States Government would abide by Article II of the General Treaty of Peace and Amity signed in Washington on February 7, 1923, by delegates from the five Central American republics. This article in part provides that no one of the Central American republics will henceforth recognize any government which comes into power in any of them "through a *coup d'état* or a revolution against a recognized Government so long as the freely elected representatives of the people thereof have not constitutionally reorganized the country."

Results of the Election

This warning apparently had a quieting effect, and except for the fact that Dr. Arias and Dr. Miguel Oquell Bustillo were formally nominated by the Liberals at their convention in August for the presidency and vice-presidency, respectively, no change in the general political situation occurred, and no revolutionary disturbance developed, prior to the regular elections which were conducted on October 28, 29, and 30. In these elections a total of 106,266 votes were cast. Dr. Arias received 20,839, Dr. Bonilla received 35,474, and General Carias received 49,953 votes. To have obtained an absolute majority of the votes cast it would have been necessary for one of the candidates to have received 53,134 votes.



THE AMERICAN LEGATION AT TEGUCIGALPA
(Showing the American flag flying at half mast on August 3, 1923, immediately after receipt of the news of the death of President Harding)

Since General Cárías failed by 3181 votes to receive such a majority, the election of a President devolved upon the Congress.

That body met on January 1, 1924, with all of its members present and pledged to vote as follows: 18 for Dr. Arias, 15 for General Cárías, and 9 for Dr. Bonilla. These figures show that whereas Dr. Arias had received only one out of every five votes cast in the popular elections in October, he had a plurality of three in the Congressional balloting and only needed to secure four additional votes to obtain an absolute majority and thereby be elected President.

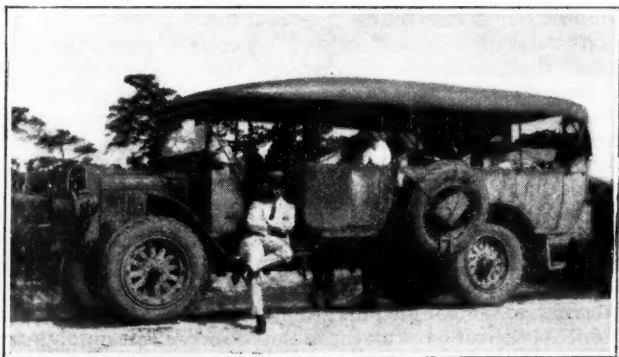
Choice Devolves on Congress —Deadlock

None of the 42 Congressmen, however, gave evidence of any willingness

to change his position and the deadlock continued. Efforts of the Arias and Cárías supporters to unite were frustrated by the efforts of Dr. Bonilla, whose elimination would be threatened by such a fusion. The political enemies of Dr. Bonilla in Tegucigalpa have since then claimed that he had the backing of the United States Minister; but to that charge the present writer is lending no support.

By the end of January the situation was becoming critical, as the date for the expiration of the constitutional term of López Gutiérrez was February 1. As this date approached and there were no evidences that the deadlock would be broken, a movement was started in Congress for the election of a "Designado," or a sort of Vice-President, with whom the outgoing President might deposit executive powers on the expiration of his term. This move also failed when 17 Arista Congressmen, headed by Dr. Oqueli Bustillo, signed a document rejecting such an arrangement on the ground that it was designed to impede the election of Dr. Arias.

Finally, on January 29, Dr. Arias and General Cárías reached an agreement whereby each was to withdraw his candidacy and cast his support for Dr. Miguel Paz Barahona, the vice-presidential candidate on the Cárías ticket. Under this agreement Dr. Paz Barahona was, after being installed as President, to distribute all political preferences equally between Arias and Cárías factions. The above agreement was announced on January 30, and the prospects were that of the 33 Arias and Cárías Congressmen a sufficient number would subscribe to the agreement to elect Dr. Paz Barahona on January 31.



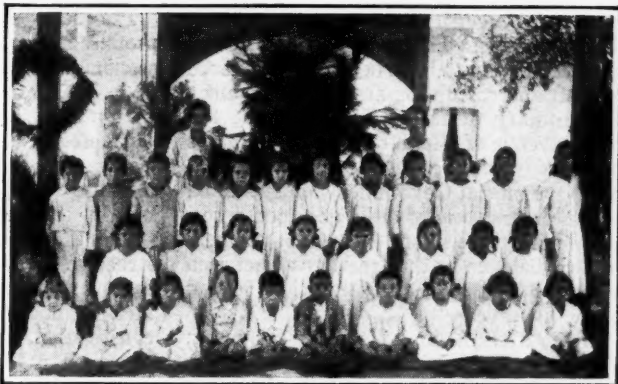
MAIL AND PASSENGER BUS, IN SERVICE BETWEEN THE PACIFIC COAST AND TEGUCIGALPA, 85 MILES IN THE INTERIOR

On the night of January 30, however, just as everyone thought that the deadlock would be amicably dissolved, General Cárías secretly left Tegucigalpa. The next morning the startled capital learned that General Cárías had reached the American mining camp of San Juancito, seized the arms of the little garrison, and proceeded thence toward the Nicaraguan frontier to join his many friends from Nicaragua and large numbers of political exiles who were awaiting him.

In Tegucigalpa those who were disappointed at the failure of the Arias-Cárías agreement to materialize and thereby avert civil war have alleged—though on what foundation the writer does not venture to say—that the American Minister was responsible for the unfortunate repudiation of the agreement by General Cárías. They assert that General Cárías was told by the United States Minister that he would not tolerate such an agreement, and was advised to leave the capital with his followers, take to the mountains, and start war. Apologists for General Cárías have said that he took this alleged injunction from the American Minister as “the will of Washington” and acted accordingly. In this connection, the writer is constrained to emphasize that he is reciting merely the fact that such an allegation was spread.

Dictatorship

Thus January 31 passed without the election of a successor with whom President López Gutiérrez could deposit the Presidency. In view of this situation, the President on February 1 assumed all powers of the State; declared himself a Dictator; suppressed the National Congress, the Constitution, and all laws; and proclaimed martial law throughout the republic. After this, Dr. Bonilla tried, though without avail, to induce all his military supporters to leave Honduras. Dr. Arias, however, remained at the capital to assist the Dictator in keeping peace. Prior to February 7 the Cárías forces captured the city of Siguatepeque, an important traffic center between the south and north coasts and



CLASS OF SECOND-YEAR PUPILS ATTENDING THE PRACTICE SCHOOL MAINTAINED IN CONNECTION WITH THE NORMAL SCHOOL FOR GIRLS AT TEGUCIGALPA, HONDURAS

by so doing divided the country into two incommunicable sections.

Thus the presidential campaign merged into dictatorship and civil war. As a result, Honduras early in February found itself without laws, either statutory or constitutional, and with its commerce paralyzed, its industries stopped, its telegraph lines cut, all printing suspended, and life and property endangered. To obtain revenue the dictatorship resorted to the imposition of forced loans on natives and foreigners alike—and in the case of the latter in violation of treaties with foreign countries.

After February 1 citizens in Tegucigalpa did not venture on the streets later than 7 P. M., because of the frequent shootings and machine-gun duels between troops of the Dictator and groups of Cárías supporters trying to leave the city under cover of darkness in order to join the revolution. On the north coast large banana plantations are menaced by the civil war. Banana planters have had two bad years as the result of cyclones and storms, but this year the crop is reported to be the best in many years, and in early February there were millions of dollars' worth of bananas on the trees which if not cut soon would be a total loss to the banana planters.

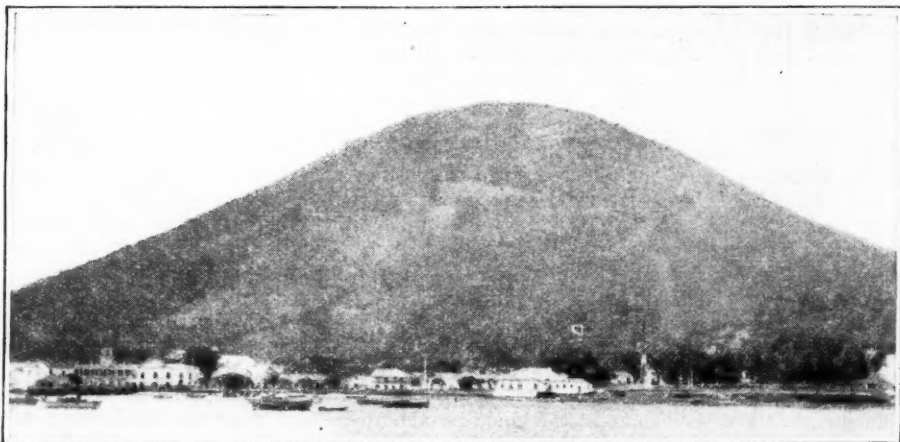
Honduras is poorly prepared to face the situation created as a result of the presidential deadlock. By August of the past year the financial difficulties of the Government were such that only policemen, soldiers, and high Government officials were being paid their salaries. At that time mail carriers, public school teachers, and the faculties of the normal schools and of the

National University had not received pay for six months. The real occasion for this, however, is said to have been the prevalence of graft and corruption among Government and military officials. The fact that the total revenue of Honduras for last year was between 7,000,000 and 8,000,000 pesos, while the official Government budget called for an expenditure of only 5,000,000 pesos, shows that there should have been an unexpended balance in the treasury of between 2,000,000 and 3,000,000 pesos at the end of the fiscal year.

Given a stable and honest government, the future of Honduras would be assured. Its internal debt, despite years of turmoil and instability, amounted to only 5,000,000 pesos in 1923. The foreign debt is not a burdensome one, although a British loan has been owing since 1869. In 1923 a British bonding company, through the British *Chargé d'Affaires* in Tegucigalpa, offered to assume the total foreign indebtedness of Honduras for 1,200,000 pounds sterling. According to the proposition, this sum was to be paid by Honduras to the bonding company in thirty installments of £40,000 each. The Honduran Congress rejected the proposition on the ground that the British *Chargé* did not have the technical authority to act for the company. Thereupon the *Chargé* cabled for full and complete authority to act, but before this arrived Congress had adjourned.

President López Gutiérrez at first promised to convoke Congress in extra session for the purpose of deliberating upon the proposition, but later—knowing that public sentiment, in view of the approaching election and the prospective change in administration, was against the measure—he decided to await the regular meeting of Congress on January 1, 1924. When this session began, however, a constructive congressional program was out of the question, owing to the election contest; and, as noted above, on February 1 the constitutional Congress of Honduras was dissolved by the decree of a Dictator.

During the last few months López Gutiérrez showed the physical strain of his position, and it is common knowledge that more and more he came to rely upon the advice of his young and aggressive wife, Dona Anita Lagos de López Gutiérrez. From February 1 to March 10 he ruled as nominal absolute Dictator. On March 4 he fled from Tegucigalpa and joined his wife at Amapala, where an American cruiser was stationed. Dispatches of March 10 from Tegucigalpa stated that he died that day. He was sixty-five years old and the son of a former President. Following the Dictator's death, his cabinet, headed by Dr. Francisco Buesco, assumed all powers of state. Prior to February, 1924, Dr. Buesco was third Constitutional Presidential Designate of Honduras.



AMAPALA, CHIEF PORT OF HONDURAS ON THE PACIFIC COAST, LOCATED ON AN ISLAND IN FONSECA BAY

(Passengers leave ocean vessels here and take launch for San Lorenzo, on the mainland, 23 miles distant. American war vessels have recently been at Amapala.)

RYKOFF, LENIN'S SUCCESSOR IN RUSSIA

BY M. D. CHRISTOPHIDES

THE appointment of Alexis Ivanovitch Rykoff as President of the Council of Commissars, in the place of Nicolai Lenin, marks the end of the heroic period of Sovietism in Russia. The Bolshevik patriarch, who was imposed by circumstances on the other leaders, as a kind of emperor over a federation of minor kings, and who was more or less obeyed by them, has been replaced by a man whose qualities do not appeal to the masses of the Communists and who is neither loved nor feared by the disappointed candidates.

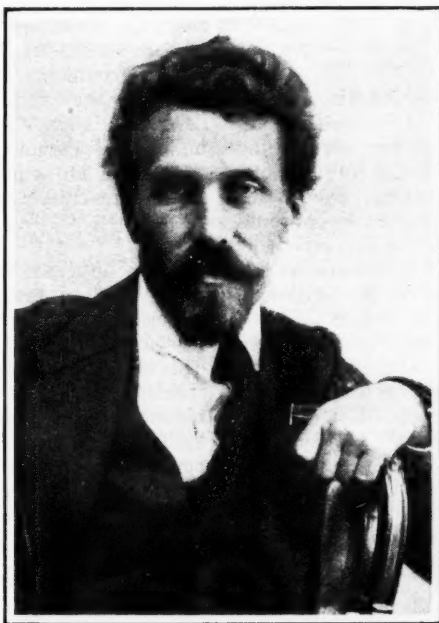
Judging from what I know of the man, and from what was being said in Russia when I was there, less than a year ago, regarding the succession of Lenin in the event of the latter's death, Rykoff won the appointment as a "dark horse." The other aspirants to the presidency of the Council of Commissars evidently agreed upon him after they had been convinced that their own conflicting ambitions were impossible of realization under the circumstances. His chief qualification for the office, from the point of view of the other leaders of the party, is his inability to cast a shadow on them.

From now on it will be politics, inter-Soviet parliamentarism, and compromise between the factions in the party and their respect-

ive leaders that will rule in Moscow, where the will of the dead dictator was until recently the supreme law.

To the communist peasants and laborers Lenin was a hero; and those among them

who had discovered at an early date the sand under the sugar surface of the communist cake respected and admired him. They saw in him the incarnation of communism. This enabled him to exercise, in certain respects, the powers of a real ruler in a country where administrative, anarchy insubordination, and corruption would have deprived the word "authority" of all meaning were it not for the personal prestige of Lenin. Only once did he have to give way to Trotsky, when the latter opposed the proposal to weed out the party. Lenin succeeded afterward



ALEXIS IVANOVITCH RYKOFF
(Head of the Russian Soviet Government)

in frustrating Trotsky's scheme of reinforcing the party—and, incidentally, strengthening his own position therein—by the admission of more ignoramuses and suspicious characters in its ranks.

Rykoff is not popular in the party, has no following of his own, is very little known among the peasants and has neither the powers nor the qualities which are required for the successor of Lenin to keep the ambitious Trotsky in leash.

From an independent point of view, Rykoff is superior to Lenin in many respects. His ideas are more coördinated and better balanced than those of his predecessor. His character is more human and his heart is less cold, as is proved by the fact that he intervened energetically once in behalf of an old friend of his, whom the Tcheka had arrested and was about to execute in 1920 for the mere reason that he was a very rich man before the revolution. Rykoff had not seen his friend for over fifteen years. He saved his life on the promise that he would never attempt to influence the peasants in his district against the Soviet government, and that he would place his wide business experience at the disposal of the Vniestorg, or Commission of Foreign Trade.

A "Conservative" Radical

Yet Alexis Rykoff is a fanatic, and his intellect is crippled by a hatred and an implacable hostility against everything that is associated with the old régime. Were it not for this hatred, due to his sufferings in Siberia while in exile, he would be a normal man. Next to Kamenieff, he is the most conservative of the destructive geniuses raised to eminence by Sovietism.

"You don't know what a mixture of a man that Rykoff is," said his aforementioned friend to me, as we were preparing to take the train for Moscow on an errand, the success of which depended on whether Rykoff could be influenced in the right direction by the man whom he had saved from death. "I have known him from his boyhood. He is a hard worker and a sincere man, and prefers to do things instead of merely talking and preaching communism. On several occasions he has told me that; unless the people can be made to work wholeheartedly, Russia will be in a backward condition and poverty will be the permanent companion of the people. But prejudice blinds him. The merest reference to the past in our discussions of the economic problems of Russia causes such a confusion in his mind as to make him unconsciously inconsistent in his argument. He understands business surprisingly well. He knows much and wants to learn more. Every other month he invites me to Moscow to consult me on various questions, and listens attentively when I tell him my views. But, while recognizing the reality of the obstacles which are in the way of the

country's economic recovery, he is unable to follow up his own reasoning when it assails his deeply rooted convictions."

A Russianized Polish engineer, who knew Rykoff from their university days and had been once imprisoned with him in the days of the Czar, came to see my companion at the hotel when we arrived in Moscow. He was in charge of a railroad section and was receiving the equivalent of seven dollars as a monthly salary, in addition to the insufficient food rations given to government employees. His wife was earning ten times that much by selling jewelry, silver, furniture, and second-hand furs for destitute families on commission.

We saw them every day during our five weeks' stay in Moscow, and discussed with them the topics of the day as well as the persons at the head of the various government departments. The woman had no use for any of the communist leaders, whom she described as ignorant fanatics who did not understand humanity. Her husband, although an anti-communist himself and a social democrat, was a more lenient critic.

Why Lenin Was Extreme

Lenin he described to me as a man of rather limited brains and ability, whose materialism was largely due to sentimental reasons. "He might have been a social democrat, like myself, or, at any rate, a less ruthless socialist," he said, "if the old régime had been less heartless and less indifferent to the sufferings of the people. Several people who knew Lenin before his return to Russia are of the opinion that he was driven to the extremity of communism because he believed that only a peasant revolution could overturn the Czarist system, and that no other idea except communism could stir the enthusiasm of the peasant in behalf of a revolution throughout the country. Milyukoff's reactionary attitude regarding Kerensky's foreign policy and especially his stubborn opposition to the latter's program of economic reforms, which included distribution of the land to the peasants, discredited the revolution which had overthrown the Czar. Lenin intervened and did the only thing that could arouse the peasants both against the threatened return of the Czarist system and against the heterogenous and impotent Kerensky government."

Of Rykoff, this Polish engineer said that he was a better man than most of the lead-

ing communists, including Lenin, but that even he could not think in the right way all along. "After a certain point," he told me, "Rykoff begins to feel instead of think. He is blinded by prejudice. Unlike other communists, he likes to discuss with other people, instead of teaching all the time. There are several people outside of the party with whom he is in regular intercourse. I am one of them. He discusses with us the situation in a very frank manner. But what is the use? He prefers to be a pessimist regarding the future of the country, instead of looking across his fixed ideas toward the way out of the present chaos."

An Incident of the Famine

Among the women employes in one of the government offices out of Moscow there was a very respectable and intelligent looking lady in cheap sandals and without stockings (as is the case with most respectable women in Russia), who took the writer under her protection and helped him in many ways as soon as she learned that he came from America. She was about fifty-eight years old, and spoke several languages, including English.

She was a distinguished educator. When the famine came, the school of which she was in charge had to be closed, and she moved to a village in a remote district, where she struggled to prevent the fire of education from being completely extinguished. The peasants told her that as long as they had a crumb of bread they would not let her starve.

But the time came when there was not a crumb of bread or an ounce of other eatable things in the village. Not a living being had been left in the entire district except those who had not yet died from starvation. She took her twelve-year-old boy by the hand, and together they started on a long hike, stopping in villages to exchange a book or a piece of clothing for a little food, or scanning the orchards and farms for something that might have escaped the attention of others. They marched in that way four hundred miles to a city where they had relatives. They were exhausted when they arrived; and then they learned that their relatives had moved to another city in the hope of finding employment and more food. A professor whom they knew was in no better condition than they. He gave to the lady half of something he had, telling her that it was

the only thing he could give them and that they should use it only in case of absolute necessity. It was poison.

Something, however, that caught her eye on a table in the professor's room gave her an inspiration. It was a very old copy of an American magazine. She took it, copied the name and address, and wrote a letter to the editor, telling him of her circumstances and of her desire to come to America for the sake of her boy. In the meantime, an influential nephew of hers in Moscow recommended her to the head of a government office in a provincial town, and she was given employment. That nephew was Rykoff.

In due time the woman received a reply from the American editor, who took a great interest in her. He urged her to get out of Russia by all means, and promised to do all that he could for her and her child after their arrival here in America. She showed me that letter, and the next day she left for Moscow, hoping to induce her nephew to use his influence for a passport to be issued to her.

A Stern Nephew Refuses Aid

Rykoff refused to give his aunt the slightest help in that direction, telling her that she ought to stay in Russia and share the fate of the other people, because the country would need her as soon as the reopening of more schools would become possible. She had ten thousand francs in a bank in Switzerland, and asked Rykoff to find a way for her to withdraw that money, because she would need it for her trip to America. The answer she received from Rykoff was that the money belonged legitimately to the state, because all the gold in the possession of private citizens was supposed to have been confiscated by the government. When I saw her three months afterward she had lost almost all hope of ever being able either to placate her nephew or to escape from the country secretly.

She spoke to me several times about Rykoff. She showed me letters which she had received from him and in which one could read his character very easily. His affection and interest for his relative, if he had any, vanished before the political matters regarding which he wished to give her his opinions. One day she took me to her home, which was one of a row of one-room wooden huts in a large yard, in order

to introduce me to her son. She had received a new letter from Rykoff and said to me: "My nephew loves the people, but he loves his ideas much more than the people. When I told him what I had suffered he almost wept, but he refused to help me to get out of here. He says that all people are alike, and that one's condition should not be different from that of the others. He is ruining his health with hard work from early in the morning till ten o'clock in the evening. He is not a demagogue like most of the others high up in Moscow. He seldom appears in public and he does not like to make speeches. His colleagues, a cousin of mine in Moscow tells me, do not like him very much, because he speaks to them very frankly when they waste their time doing nothing but arguing. He does the work and lets the others brag. He is a very poor politician."

Other Russian Leaders

I asked one of the managers of the Centrosoyous, or Central Coöperative Society: "What do you think will happen to Russia if Lenin dies in the near future?"

"God save us from Trotzky and his *sans-culottes* if Lenin dies," was his answer.

Other Russians of whom I asked the same question answered in the same way. Trotzky, however, whose name became synonymous with red terrorism, was eliminated from the inner council of the ruling party even before the death of Lenin. Not only did this timely action on the part of the other leaders prevent the ambitious Trotzky from placing himself, by means of intrigue or force, at the head of the government, but made him impotent, for some time at least.

There is another man, however, who is almost as ambitious and as dangerous as Trotzky, and whom the party machine had to promote to one of the most important positions in the government, in response to the popular outcry against official graft and inefficiency. This man is Dzerzinsky, the new head of the Commission of National Economy, who had distinguished himself as the founder of the dreaded Tcheka and reorganizer of the railways. His administrative ability is unquestionable, but his views are so radical that the moderate Rykoff may find it necessary either to get rid of him or abandon Lenin's new economic policy.

The situation created by Lenin's death appears thus to have only temporarily been

patched up. The very fact of the appointment of Dzerzinsky to the position formerly occupied by Rykoff shows that the victory of the Leninists over the ultra-communists was not complete. With the opportunist and weak Kamenieff at the head of the "center" forces, which opposed the Communists of the "left" in the fight for supremacy, this indecisive outcome was inevitable. Kamenieff is a shrewd politician, but a poor fighter. The same is true of Zeno-vieff, the other man on whose support Rykoff will have to rely for carrying out the "center's" policy against the will of the leaders of the "left"—some of whom, like Trotzky, Dzerzinsky, and Stalin, have shown a remarkable strength of character combined with extraordinary ability.

Economic Chaos Continues

In these circumstances, it is difficult to see how the Moscow government will be able to lead Russia out of the present economic chaos. In spite of his administrative ability, Dzerzinsky, owing to his uncompromising attitude toward capitalism and private enterprise, is bound to be an obstacle to the economic regeneration of the country. Russia's finances are in a very bad shape, while economic conditions are little different from what they were at any time between the revolution and the great famine. Students of Russian conditions usually put undue emphasis on the fact that a large number of formerly idle industrial establishments are now in actual operation. The fact is ignored by these observers that the Soviet government is spending hundreds of millions of gold rubles annually from the public treasury in order to keep the state industries running. In an effort to remedy this condition, Dzerzinsky reduced the laborers' wages by 30 per cent., with the result that the latter found the cost of food 30 per cent. above their buying capacity. While the peasants were complaining about the high cost of manufactured goods, the new economic dictator, in order to balance the laborers budget, issued a decree fixing the prices of food stuffs. Farming in Russia under Bolshevik conditions is by no means a profitable occupation; and unless the peasants are encouraged to produce more food for domestic consumption, as well as for export, instead of being driven to inactivity by the fixing of prices and heavy taxes, the country will soon face another famine.

NO MORE LYNCHINGS!

HOW NORTH CAROLINA HAS SOLVED THE PROBLEM

BY WILLIAM H. RICHARDSON

IF THE spirit of lawlessness is ever conquered, victory will not be the result of round-table discussions. Neither can it be brought about by "conferences," or "resolutions" emanating therefrom. The task must be accomplished through a display of courage on the part of those in civil authority, backed up by the public conscience. Even the Church's power is limited when it comes to the treatment of Cæsar's ills. Yet, the Church, if it will, may aid materially by helping to educate properly that portion of the public conscience represented in the pew. In the final analysis, however, the real responsibility rests with the State; and there it falls directly upon the shoulders of those in civil authority.

An attorney-at-law recently made comment upon the action of a Governor who, after a hard mental and nervous struggle, had commuted the sentence of a man (convicted of double murder) from death by electrocution to a term in the penitentiary. He declared: "I am always willing to leave such decisions with the Governor, and I never criticize. He is the custodian of the public conscience of the State. When we elect him to office we lock that conscience up in his heart and give him the key."

The Governor of a State is, then, the *Supremest Court*. Exercising his constitutional prerogatives, he holds not only the key to the public conscience but to every prison as well. He may modify the decisions of all criminal courts. Even in States where details leading up to the exercise of the pardoning power are handled by boards, the Governor has the final word. In the end he must approve or disapprove. He may give life or permit death. This is a terrible responsibility, the heaviness of which can be realized only by the Governor himself and those immediately surrounding him, whose privilege it is to be near him, to hear the prayers for mercy that are poured

into his ears, and to behold him wading through the deep waters of decision.

It is the solemn duty of a Governor to see that *the law* is respected. Not the *laws*, for he is not a policeman. Not the *statutes*, for he is not a prosecuting attorney. As a matter of fact, *the law* is an abstract term, in contrast with *written laws* and *statutes*. Hence, it finds expression through the moral attitude of a people, rather than through their physical actions. Lawlessness, then, denotes an *unmoral* condition. Therefore, it robs the State, the community, of spiritual values. Lawlessness is a disregard for *the law* and not the violation of individual ordinances. It is a disregard for constituted authority, and can be either a cause or an effect.

Mob Rule and Its Evils

One of the worst forms of lawlessness with which the States have had to contend is mob rule, which finds expression chiefly through the crime of lynching. The real victim, almost invariably, is one who, by the commission—or the alleged commission—of some heinous crime, has incurred the temporary and uncontrollable wrath of a community. The invisible victim, always, is *the law*. Society is the real loser. Less respect for constituted authority is the inevitable result in each instance. This, no doubt, is because the perpetrators are seldom apprehended and rarely, if ever, punished.

Although lynching is associated almost exclusively with the South, in the minds of many, yet it is not by any means confined to that section. Outbreaks resulting in lynchings have occurred in many places north of the Mason and Dixon Line.

It must be admitted that the South has been the greatest sufferer. Consequently, the South has labored under the dual burden of merited humiliation and an exaggeration of facts and conditions. Frequent riots in

the North, which sometimes have resulted in lynchings, have given the South ample grounds for a "come-back"; but the South, in turn, has never launched an offensive of blame against sections in which this form of lawlessness has manifested itself, because it realizes, from experience, that mob rule is often the result of conditions which could not have been avoided.

Experience shows, however, that lynchings can be materially reduced, if not wiped out altogether, provided the task is undertaken in the right way.

There has always existed in the South a strong sentiment against the passage of federal laws to prevent lynching. It is needless to enter into a discussion of this. If the South's position is tenable, such legislation can best be warded off by the individual States. Whether pending or proposed legislation will be enacted into law by the national Congress before the States have conquered mob rule through their own individual policies, cannot be forecast. Such legislation, it must be admitted in order to be fair minded, would not affect the South exclusively.

It has been stated that a Governor is not a policeman; and, broadly speaking, he is not. He may have the power to remove local police officers for incompetency, but even then he cannot enforce local laws. Nor can he enforce Statewide laws.

Yet the average American Governor can, by using the constitutional powers at his command, hinder the progress of mob rule and prevent lynchings and other lawless conduct to a marked degree.

What a Governor Can Do

A striking example of just how far a Governor can go in this direction, by the exercise of his legitimate powers, is furnished by North Carolina. According to the best available information, North Carolina has had fewer lynchings than any other Southern State, during the past forty-year period; yet it by no means has a clear slate.

Under the existing order of things, brought about by a definite policy against all forms of lawlessness—more especially that form which finds expression in lynching—North Carolina furnishes an example that is worth more than passing notice. This policy, which has practically put an end to lynching, was inaugurated by the present Governor, Cameron Morrison, shortly after

he took the oath of office, in January, 1921, and has been strictly adhered to. In no State are the powers of the Governor more limited than in North Carolina. He has not even the veto power. He cannot remove any sheriff or local police officer.

Yet, by using forces at his command, Governor Morrison has won a record for law enforcement. There has not been a lynching in the State since the first year of his administration. One occurred during the month that he was inaugurated. There were two victims, both Negroes. The trouble arose over ten cents' worth of apples, and in the riot that followed eight men were wounded. The lynching could not have been prevented, as the Governor was not notified until the two victims were in the hands of the mob. But within thirty minutes after he was advised of the situation troops were on the scene and further violence was prevented. Fourteen Negroes, guarded by soldiers, were placed in the penitentiary at Raleigh for safe-keeping.

State Pride a Factor

This lynching had two outstanding effects. It placed North Carolina in the extremely embarrassing position of not being able to extradite from the Dominion of Canada a Negro who helped to incite the riot by severely cutting a white man. At the same time, it drew from the then new Governor the announcement of a fixed policy which, so far, has resulted in conquering mob rule.

Canada declined to permit extradition, on the ground that the prisoner—whose brother had already been lynched—would not receive a fair trial in North Carolina. It challenged the State to send witnesses if it wished to push its case. The Governor, with whom the matter rested, declined to do this, declaring: "I will not humiliate my State by permitting it to be placed on trial in any foreign court."

Governor Morrison's policy is to send State troops to any community at the first sign of violence. He has often been heard to say, "I don't believe in sending soldiers to a funeral. It is too late then." When this policy had been in force two years, North Carolina was again put to the test, this time in Pennsylvania. A Negro wanted for murder was arrested in Pittsburgh. A requisition was issued on the Governor of Pennsylvania. Extradition was resisted under the same claim that had been used in

Canada. But North Carolina, on its new record for law enforcement, won its case.

It so happened that at the very time the extradition hearing was in progress in Harrisburg, Brig.-Gen. J. Van B. Metts, the Adjutant General of North Carolina, was at Spruce Pine, sent there by Governor Morrison to prevent the threatened expulsion of all Negroes from that community.

A Prompt Show of Force

The Governor's instructions to General Metts, delivered verbally in the chief executive's private office at Raleigh, constitute, in brief, his general policy on law enforcement. He said:

A serious situation has arisen. There is a movement on foot to expel all Negroes, including many laborers, from Mitchell County. The center of the trouble seems to be Spruce Pine. I want you to go there at once and see that the rights of every person, black or white, are respected and that every man who wants to work be allowed to do so, unmolested. Inform the leaders of the movement that, unless they are prepared to whip the whole State, order must be restored at once. I am determined that lawlessness shall not get a foothold in North Carolina while I am Governor.

It can never be known what would have been the result of a situation that developed in the summer of 1922 had not the Governor taken quick and drastic action. Three Negroes had attacked a white woman who was motoring through the State with her husband. They were arrested by the sheriff of the county in which the crime was committed, and lodged in the penitentiary at Raleigh when it was learned that a mob was forming to take them from the hands of the law. The Governor was advised that this precaution had been taken, also of a rumor that a mob was on its way to Raleigh to take the Negroes out of prison and lynch them. By ten o'clock that night, the Adjutant General, acting under executive orders, had placed a machine-gun company and a number of infantrymen inside the stockade. The Governor announced what he had done and issued a warning that any

attempt to enter the prison would be met by stern force. No mob appeared.

Numerous instances could be cited where lynchings would undoubtedly have taken place during the past three years but for the presence of troops. In no case where troops have been used, however, has there been the slightest indication of further trouble. Thus, North Carolina has learned that threatened violence must be met by stern force; that an outbreak must be anticipated and prevented before violence actually manifests itself.

Governor Morrison has used State troops not only to prevent lynching but also to preserve order in strike zones. During the railroad strike of 1922, troops were stationed at Raleigh, Rocky Mount, Hamlet, and Spencer. He did not wait for trouble actually to occur at any of these points,

and he let it be known that he meant to afford protection to striking shopmen as well as to railroad property. No serious disorders occurred at any of these places.

During a textile strike at Concord, when the helplessness of the local police authorities became apparent, Governor Morrison placed the town under military rule.

He went there in person and delivered an address on the rights of labor and capital.

Support from People and Press

In the use of State troops to prevent lynchings and industrial disorders the Governor has had the hearty support of the people. In only one instance where he sent soldiers to prevent possible violence has there been anything like a formal protest. And in that case it was afterward learned that "resentment" was confined to a few persons, while the rank and file of the people of the community were in accord with the Governor's action. This protest was voiced in a letter, and upon receipt of it Governor Morrison reiterated his fixed policy. "I am determined to use every particle of power



GOVERNOR MORRISON
OF NORTH CAROLINA



GEN. J. VAN B. METTS
(Adjutant General)

given me by the Constitution of this State," he declared, "to prevent lynching while I am Governor; and I am going to do it by sending troops to any community as soon as I learn there is need for them to prevent violence. Troops harm no one. They protect the citizen and in many instances save the good name of the county."

To the objectors he wrote: "I am very sorry to know that my action in ordering troops to your county recently, out of the abundance of caution against any violence being done the prisoner, does not meet with your approbation. I am sure you can never know whether it was necessary or not. We cannot wait until violence actually manifests itself before acting. It would be too late then."

This brought the press of the State to the Governor's support. To quote from one newspaper:

Governor Morrison should not feel it necessary to defend his willingness to employ troops to prevent mob violence. The use of troops on slight pretenses is to be deplored. It can hardly be charged, however, that he has dispatched soldiers hither and yon at the smallest provocation. In every case he has waited until the situation assumed threatening proportions and the impotence of the local police establishment became apparent. Then he has acted with commendable firmness and promptness. His judgments have usually been vindicated by developments.

It can be safely asserted that public sentiment in North Carolina is not only in favor of law enforcement and the suppression of mob rule but that the present Governor's methods have met with almost universal approval. When troops have been dispatched to any community this action has almost invariably been in response to a call from the officials of that community.

A Victory for Justice and Education

Hearty coöperation on the part of sheriffs and other police officers has materially aided Governor Morrison in the maintenance of law and order. Shortly after his inauguration he called upon all officers charged with the enforcement of law to notify him without delay of any threatened outbreak, pledging them prompt assistance. Response to this request has been gratifying.

North Carolina has learned from experience that there can be no possible mistake in

letting the law take its course through orderly court procedure. It has learned, too, that unless a State upholds the sanctity of the law within its own borders it cannot successfully extradite fugitives from other States. Consequently, it has earnestly—and by force when necessary—sought to remedy past mistakes by means of prevention rather than cure. And yet the victory has not been a purely military victory. Auxiliary forces have been at work. These may be divided into two major groups—justice and education. Protection is not given the Negro because he is black, but to vindicate the law. Neither is justice withheld from him because of his color.

The Negro's reaction to treatment accorded him in this State finds expression in a resolution passed unanimously by the North Carolina Negro Teachers' Association, which reads as follows:

We love our State and are loyal to its institutions. We declare our opposition to crime, no matter by whom committed, and pledge our assistance to those in authority in apprehending and bringing to justice those guilty of the violation of the law. We further pledge ourselves to stand by the courts in the orderly process of the law to the end that justice may be meted out through the proper channels to each and every offender.

This resolution is not only significant but encouraging as well. It bespeaks a condition toward the realization of which honest men and women in both races have been working for many years, and it is an unmistakable index to the good feeling that exists between the races.

Now, what does all this mean? Briefly, this: North Carolina has, in a measure at least, met the challenge that has been flung at the South since the Negro was freed from slavery; and in its successful battle against mob rule it has not only set an example for other Southern States but for Northern States as well. In solving the lynching problem it has been necessary to employ force. But, back of it all, the spirit of justice has been the dominating factor. To a weak race a stronger race has given justice as well as educational opportunities. The determination that law must be respected has been successfully put into operation. In accomplishing the task, North Carolina has not been forced to sacrifice an ounce of its pride and not a single "Southern tradition" has been lost.

IMMIGRATION AND EUGENICS

BY WILLET M. HAYS

[Professor Hays is one of the most eminent of American authorities upon the improvement of field crops through plant breeding, as well as upon other phases of agricultural progress. For many years he was connected with Experiment Stations in the Northwest, and with the Agricultural Department at Washington. He founded the American Genetic Association and the *Journal of Heredity*.—THE EDITOR]

THE people of the United States have finally reached the viewpoint of more carefully choosing those whom they admit as immigrants. Along with persons of normal and superior heredity, we have received of the inferior blood of other lands.

Some of the families with especially defective heredity—in which a large percentage of the children are a hindrance rather than an asset to society—have served to call attention to the non-eugenic class.

In the meantime great strides have been made in the study of heredity. The science of genetics, common to plants, animals, and man, is rising to a position of interest beside chemistry and mechanics. The scientific practice of plant breeding and of the creation of new values in the breeds of domestic animals has its victories in the control of nature comparable with the invention of machinery in farm production.

Genetic science shows that in each species the great mass of individuals and family groups are near an average, but that at the bottom of the scale are minorities which are inferior and at the top a minority with superior heredity. Genetic practice eliminates the inferior and multiplies the superior stocks gradually to become the whole.

Having received into our network of human descent a goodly portion of the best blood of the foremost nations, we have the seed stock of the best race in the world. To realize fully on our eugenic opportunity we have three tasks: We must refuse longer to permit the entrance of persons who are carriers of defective heredity from other nations; the heredity of our own non-eugenic classes must be weeded out; and, finally, in genetic competition with other nations, we will multiply our families of best heredity to become dominant in the blood of the race.

Our genetists and breeders have placed American plant and animal breeding in the

forefront, both in technique and in results in the form of improved varieties of plants and breeds of animals. And, while many genetic scientists and some statesmen fairly apprise the need of efforts to improve heredity in man, the nation as a whole does not see the necessity of eliminating the bad heredity. Nor has society in mind any adequate way of inducing those families which have superior heredity to bear the larger proportion of the children. But there is evidence that widespread interest will center in effective methods to improve racial heredity in man.

During the last half-century, the work of creating new values in breeds of animals and in varieties of plants has more and more centered in genetic records, with art as an aid. There seems no doubt that plans as now evolved for making these improvements in many and diverse species can be adapted for use in eugenics so as to improve each race of man.

Genetic records consist of data of individual values, of measures of the young of each parent cast into an average; indicative of the values of inherent characters transmitted by the respective parents. Thus the corn breeder does not stop at choosing fine ears of corn. He grows a row of plants from each mother ear and secures the ears which bear the best heredity. In like manner the young cows from each high-yielding dairy cow are tested as to their power to yield heavily of milk and butter. And the high record strains are chosen, to be rapidly multiplied to become the improved breed able to produce dairy products more cheaply and abundantly.

This improvement has so progressed that some counties in the Mid-West have only pure-bred or crosses of pure-bred stock of some species, as of poultry and swine. And whole States have reduced nearly their entire acreage of certain crops, as of flax

and wheat, to the best one or two newly created varieties.

While no one is as yet ready to put forward a general plan for the eugenic improvement of the races of man, the time is fully ripe for the recognition of eugenic facts in the writing of a general immigration law. And putting forward the proposal to station American agents in countries sending immigrants—there to approve only persons of normal heredity, as well as otherwise acceptable—provides an opportunity to introduce a plan for accepting only normal blood into our network of descent.

Genetically it is not sufficient to secure persons free from disease, of good intelligence, and able to care for themselves. Assurance is also necessary that their heredity is sound. Too many of our anti-social and dependent classes trace back to persons who brought defective heredity to our shores.

Congress could frame a provision that would require nations from which emigrants desire to come to America to show records running back through, say, three generations—giving the characteristics of the

applicant's family under which selection could be made on a eugenic basis.

Incidentally, this immediate need of eugenic records would there lead to the development of eugenic records, and a stimulus would be given to methods of improving the inherent values of all races.

Committees of the houses of Congress which deal with immigration can, no doubt, secure practical information from members of the national associations devoted to the science of genetics and eugenics, also from teachers of genetics in our universities.

The subject is so new, and yet so important, that the national department in charge will expect to proceed experimentally from small beginnings to more extensive plans. Doubtless genetists can be found by the department who are peculiarly fitted to inaugurate this feature of the service.

Sufficient information is already available to convince the committees of Congress and the administration that the eugenic point of view and eugenic methods will be serviceable in selecting immigrants and in maintaining friendly relationships with the nations from which they come.

THE SOCIAL COUNTY UNIT

BY S. C. MITCHELL

(Professor of History, University of Richmond)

"MODERN governments are much like machinery; there is in each the same tendency to needless friction, the same necessity for accurate adjustment of the wearing parts, and even the same inclination to 'run down' unless constantly impelled by that expansive force which in physics is called *steam*, in politics *public opinion*."

The regenerative power of public opinion is nowhere so sadly needed to-day as in the government of our counties, which are termed the "dark continent" of American politics, the jungle of democracy. No wonder, for the county has come down to us from early English times with little change. Even the officers—sheriff, clerk, treasurer, and coroner—are the same as in the days of Edward I. These officers reside in the county, are elective, and make up the courthouse "ring." Such is the political county: archaic, routine, and headless.

A social county is emerging in this administrative unit by reason of the fact that in recent decades there has entered a number of social workers, such as the farm and home demonstrators, public-health and highway officials, the county nurse, the superintendent of schools, principals of rural high schools, the chairman of the Red Cross, and community leagues. In marked contrast to the old political officials, these new workers are social engineers, with specialized training and bent on service to the people. While the sheriff and his ilk gain office by suffrage and political pull, the social workers are usually appointed by the State and are supported in part by the federal government. They are picked for their ability in a chosen field.

This new social county which has grown up unawares needs organization. Hence, there is emerging the county council of social agencies, meeting monthly at some



JUNIOR COMMUNITY LEAGUE DELEGATES OF PITTSYLVANIA COUNTY, VIRGINIA, WHO ATTENDED A CONFERENCE ON RURAL EDUCATION LAST SUMMER

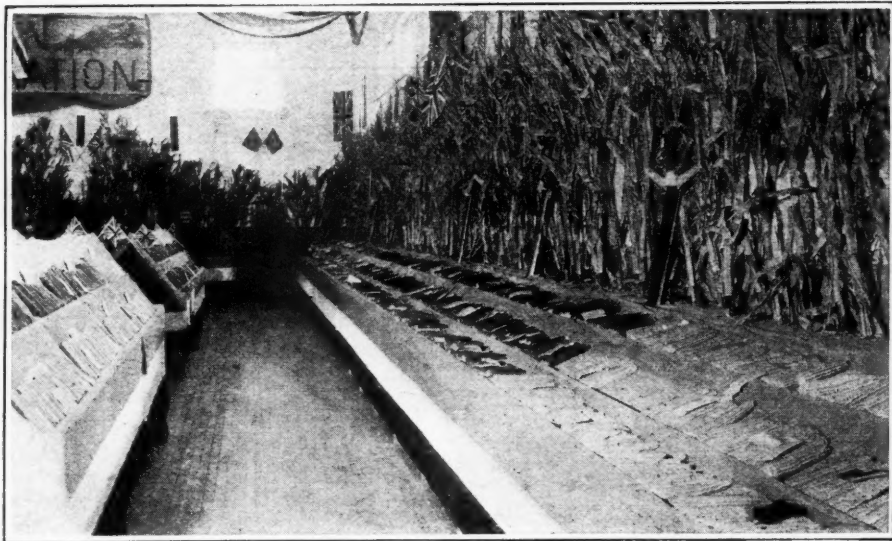
central point, and made up of the above group of social engineers and a few public-minded citizens. Such a council is voluntary, moves in the realm of friendship and citizenship, and aims to exchange ideas, avoid duplication of effort, coördinate plans, and intensify community interests. The movement to organize such county councils is inevitable, spontaneous, and effective.

In response to this popular demand, the Coöperative Education Association of Virginia has recognized the growth of the social county and sought to give it cohesion and direction. Some fifteen counties have been recently organized, while tentative steps have been taken in others. So far as I can learn, Orange County, Florida, was the first to face the new social function of the county. The spirit of the movement, however, is national, and should be felt in the 3200 counties of the republic. Here is a means of revitalizing local government, especially in the South, where the counties have historic rootage and where the social needs—such as education, public health, and highways—are so imperative. The county council will add 25 per cent. to the value of the work of

these social agencies without increasing the taxes one penny.

As a concrete instance, take the interracial county worker, who seeks to bring about sympathetic conference among the leaders of both whites and blacks. Often he works in isolation. But at the table of the county council, he finds his place, integrates his purpose with the well-being of the whole community, and is strengthened by the consciousness of team-work.

There should be in each State an organizer of county councils for conference and co-operation. In Virginia a forward step of this kind is planned by the Coöperative Education Association, a citizen movement that was started a score of years ago by Hollis B. Frissell, Governor A. J. Montague, and Mrs. B. B. Munford, now president of the Association, under the auspices of the Southern Education Board. Grown to more than 1700 community leagues and many junior leagues in high schools, it is only one example of the flowering forth of the forces which Robert C. Ogden, Seaman A. Knapp, and Wallace Buttrick evoked for the enrichment of rural life in the South.



A SECTION OF CANADA'S FIRST CORN SHOW, HELD LAST NOVEMBER AT MAPLE CREEK, SASKATCHEWAN

THE "CORN BELT" MOVES INTO CANADA

BY W. A. MAC LEOD

MAPLE CREEK, Saskatchewan, the old "cow town" where in former years 250,000 steers were shipped every fall to the eastern markets—most of them across the line as "feeders and stockers" to be finished and fattened for the Chicago market—again landed on the map with both feet, on the 14th and 15th of November, with the first provincial corn show held in any Canadian province. The event was one of historic importance and was recognized as such.

There were present at the show the Dominion and the Provincial ministers of agriculture, officials of the leading banking and financial institutions of Western Canada, the heads of big implement and milling companies, members of the federal parliament and provincial legislative assemblies, the agricultural promotion experts of the two great railway companies of Canada, provincial agricultural representatives, the "county agents" of Canada, government officials, press representatives, photographers, even a "movie man," college professors and farmers and doctors and lawyers and

merchants and ministers and teachers. For the "corn belt" had shifted north, and Maple Creek was celebrating what Hon. W. R. Motherwell, federal Minister of Agriculture, declared was the beginning of a new era of agriculture in the prairie provinces.

Professor Champlin, of the University of Saskatchewan (who was formerly professor of field husbandry at the North Dakota Agricultural College), declared that the whole exhibit was far superior to the North Dakota corn exhibit for the Chicago International Hay and Grain Show which he had prepared four years ago, before coming to Saskatchewan. The winning exhibit was entered at the International Hay and Grain Show in December, the first time that corn from the Canadian prairies entered the list as competitor for the coveted honor of even a minor prize at this great show, where Saskatchewan has won so many trophies for wheat.

There were more than five hundred entries of corn, most of them of the three varieties which have been found best adapted to

conditions in Western Canada: North Dakota Flint, Gehu Yellow Flint, and Northwestern Dent. The first prize in all three classes, with sweepstakes and silver trophies presented by the Ogilvie Milling Company and the Canadian Bank of Commerce, were all won by G. H. Hoffman of Maple Creek, born on a farm in South Dakota, educated in the public schools of South Dakota, high school in Iowa, and Yankton College, South Dakota. Western Canada's new "Corn King" bears his honors very modestly. He has been growing corn at Maple Creek for ten years, with varying success, losing all his seed one year through a severe drouth and planting thirty acres to corn last year, most of it of the flint and dent varieties.

Corn has been grown on a small scale on the Western Canadian prairies ever since the "squaw corn" variety developed farther south was found by the Cree, Sioux, Assiniboia, and Blackfoot Indians to be well adapted for the briefer summer and earlier frosts of the northern plains. But it was not until 1919 that the corn crop began to be considered even as a possibility in Saskatchewan or its two sister provinces. Wheat has always been since its agricultural history began—and for all time may be—the main crop of Saskatchewan, which produces 200,000,000 to 250,000,000 bushels of Spring wheat, on an average; more than half the wheat crop of the Dominion.

When wheat prices went down with a dull,

heavy thud at the close of the war, a few farmers here and there throughout the province began to experiment with forage plants. Some tried alfalfa, and more began to grow sweet clover. A scattering few tried corn, without much hope of success; and in 1919 it was estimated that about 6000 acres in the province had been planted to corn. Practically all of this was for feed, for it was not then thought possible to ripen the flint and dent varieties. Most of the corn was grown by dairy farmers, as there was practically no winter fattening of cattle practiced in Western Canada, the great bulk of beef cattle going to the Winnipeg, Chicago, and St. Paul markets in an unfinished condition.

Then came the United States tariff on imports of Canadian cattle; and the price of Canadian cattle, more especially the stocker and feeder class, was cut almost in two overnight. There was nothing for the farmer to do but to grin and bear it, but it was a staggering blow to the live-stock industry. Renewed efforts were made to have the British embargo on Canadian cattle removed. This embargo had been declared thirty years ago, on the ground that a shipment of cattle from Canada had developed foot-and-mouth disease. It had been conclusively proved by incontrovertible evidence that the sick cow which had given British farmers the excuse they wanted was ill with pneumonia, and not with foot-and-mouth disease; but the Old

Country stock growers did not want Canadian cattle, and the embargo stayed on until a little over a year ago. It was finally removed after a hard fight, and the live-stock industry began to pluck up fresh heart again.

Meanwhile, dairying had made rapid progress as wheat prices continued to sag and as Saskatchewan farmers, in common with tillers of the soil the world over, began to realize that while the question of who had *won* the war was still in doubt, there was no disputing the fact that the grain farmers had *lost*. But the beef cattle that the English



EXAMINING THE PRIZE WINNING EARS

(The Dominion Minister of Agriculture, Hon. W. R. Motherwell, is at the left. The man at the right is the Saskatchewan Minister of Agriculture, Hon. C. M. Hamilton)

market requires is not the animal that rustles out in the cold all winter, but one that must have fat on its ribs; and the dairy cow won't give milk in winter on wheat straw.

What has all this to do with the growing of corn? Everything! Sunflowerensilage has solved the forage problem in some parts of the province, but sunflowers are not as satisfactory as corn and are raised on a large scale only where corn does not do well. Sweet clover is a good fodder crop, but a liking for sweet clover must be acquired like a relish for oysters or oil dressing. Alfalfa gives only a fair yield on the prairie plains of the northwest. But corn is everything to the stock grower and the dairyman, and where it thrives good barns and homes and a bank account and security are possibilities, if not certainties, for the thrifty and industrious farmer.

Within five years Saskatchewan's corn crop acreage has increased from 6000 acres to 61,000. At first practically all the seed corn was imported from the United States, but from now on a considerable proportion will be grown in the province; and both Manitoba and Alberta are looking to Saskatchewan for seed corn. New strains which ripen earlier are being developed, and plans are being considered for forming corn pools—to be operated on a coöperative basis—for grading, drying, and marketing the seed corn.

As Dean Rutherford of the Saskatchewan College of Agriculture, coming to that institution from Iowa, warned the corn growers, their troubles are not over just because they have been able to ripen corn. Saskatche-

wan-ripened seed corn of high germinating quality brings \$2 a bushel wholesale, and Dean Rutherford declared that such prices could be only temporary. Mr. Hoffman, the "corn king," in an address at the agricultural rally which closed the corn show, drew attention to a serious handicap that had to be overcome before seed corn of high germinating quality could be secured: the difficulty of securing proper drying of the corn, so that the seed will not rot or lose its germinating quality through too high a moisture content when the mercury begins to dive down far below the zero line. There is real danger there.

But the corn belt has definitely moved north another hundred miles. Edward Atkinson, president of Montana College, wired his congratulations to the Saskatchewan Corn Growers' Association and told how a few years ago many good farmers looked on the growing of corn in Montana as a joke, while last year that State, which lies directly south of Saskatchewan, has produced over 9,000,000 bushels of corn.



THE WINNER OF THREE FIRST PRIZES AND TWO SILVER CUPS
(The prize corn-grower is Mr. G. H. Hoffman, of Maple Creek, Saskatchewan)

SAVING THE WHITE PINE

HOW SCIENCE OVERCOMES THE BLISTER RUST

BY SAMUEL B. DETWILER

(Pathologist in Charge of Blister Rust Control U. S. Department of Agriculture)

"Instead of the thorn shall come up the fir tree."—
(Isaiah 55:13.)

THE prophet Isaiah was apparently versed in forest lore, but no doubt he would be astonished to find foresters of today waging war on the thorny gooseberry bushes to perpetuate the white pine forests. Many States are coöperating with the Bureau of Plant Industry, United States Department of Agriculture, in destroying gooseberry and currant bushes to control the white pine blister rust.

The blister rust is caused by a minute parasitic plant belonging to a group of destructive fungi that includes wheat rust and apple rust. Like many other serious plant diseases, it is an importation from abroad. About twenty-five years ago, when public interest in American forestry was centered largely on forest planting, millions of white pine seedlings were brought to this country from Europe. It is unfortunate that this demand for forest planting stock preceded the development of forest nurseries in America because the foreign stock proved to be a disastrous investment. Many of the little pines imported were infected with blister rust. The presence of the disease was not detected at the time the trees were planted because it is several years after a pine tree is attacked before the disease can be recognized.

In this way the blister rust became established in the New England States, New York, Pennsylvania, the Lake States, and British Columbia. Between 1906, when the rust was first found in the United States, and 1916 many white pine plantations were destroyed in an effort to eradicate the disease. This proved futile, but a determined campaign to check its spread and apply local control measures is meeting with success.

Local control of the disease is accomplished by uprooting all wild and cultivated currant and gooseberry bushes within 900

feet of the pines it is desired to protect. Wild currant and gooseberry bushes are found in most of the areas where white pine grows; they are the harmful weeds, tares of the forest. Currant and gooseberry bushes are the chief factors in the spread of the disease that are subject to human control. Principal among these is the cultivated black currant (or European black currant), which acts as a primary nurse plant of the rust, and favors the establishment of the disease 150 miles or more from the nearest diseased pines. Some States have declared cultivated black currants a public nuisance and are causing them to be destroyed as the most effective means of checking the rapid spread of the blister rust.



TWO HOSTS OF THE BLISTER RUST

(Growing near the stake is a wild gooseberry bush which—with the currant bush—is chiefly responsible for spreading the blister rust. At the left is a small white pine already infected with the disease)



THE SPORE-BEARING PUSTULES OF THE BLISTER RUST BREAKING THROUGH THE BARK

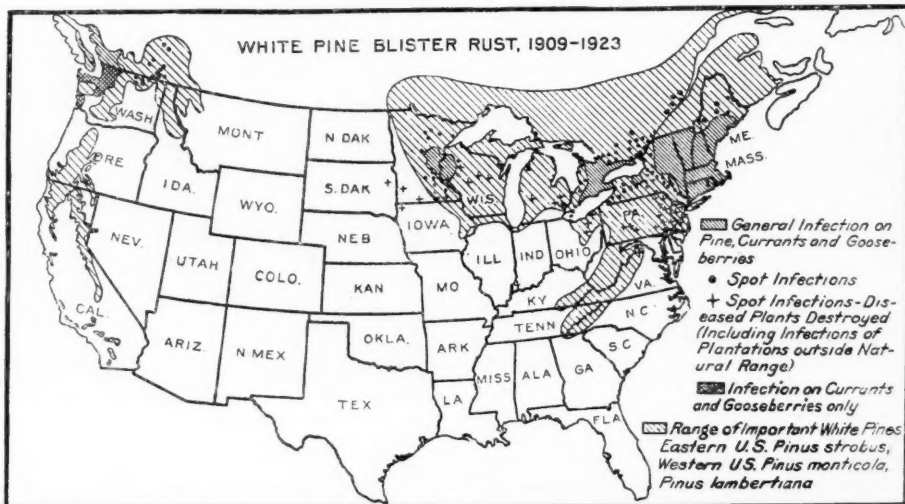
(Immense numbers of dust-like spores are carried by the wind from an infected pine to the leaves of currant and gooseberry bushes. There they develop and are later carried back to destroy healthy nearby pines)

Many persons not familiar with the life history of the blister rust fungus are amazed to learn that currants and gooseberries are a menace to the white pine forests. They are familiar with the change of a tadpole into a frog or of a caterpillar into a but-

terfly but find it difficult to conceive of the blister rust plant undergoing complex changes in its life cycle. Indeed, it required many years for scientists to discover that there are four separate stages of development of the blister rust plant. Two of these stages are found on white pine and two on currants and gooseberries. The rust cannot pass directly from a diseased pine tree to a healthy one. It must first undergo a period of life on the foliage of currant and gooseberry bushes.

The blister rust first attacks the needles and young twigs of a pine tree. It grows in the inner bark and kills by girdling. Trees of every size are destroyed; sometimes many infections kill every twig and branch, but more often a single infection kills the tree. In the latter case the fungus grows back through the live bark of a twig and in the course of several years it attacks the trunk and kills the tree. The first indication of infection is a swelling of the bark. Small drops of a colorless fluid appear on the diseased bark. This fluid contains very small spores (corresponding to seeds of other plants) whose function is unknown.

Early in the spring of the third or fourth year after attack, orange-colored blisters burst through the dying bark. These blisters are about the size of a navy bean and contain immense numbers of dry, dust-like spores so small and light in weight that they can be carried many miles—sometimes hundreds of miles—by the wind. These spores may retain their power of germination for



several months, but the only "soil" in which they can grow is the foliage of currant and gooseberry bushes. Here they produce a rust on the under side of the leaves. This rust passes through two distinct stages of development on the currant or gooseberry leaves. In the final stage a spore is produced which enables the disease to pass back to the pine. In this as in the preceding stages, the spores are readily transported by the wind. However, these pine-infecting spores retain their power to germinate for only a very brief period after being blown from the currant leaf, instead of remaining alive for weeks or months, as is the case with the spores of the other stages. The spores that transmit the rust to pine are so delicate and short-lived that to protect white pines from damage by the rust, it is only necessary to destroy the currant and gooseberry bushes within a short radius of the pines. The exact distance varies with local conditions, but ordinarily 900 feet is a safe distance to separate pines from currants and gooseberries—if cultivated black currants are absent. The latter are capable of destroying all white pines within a radius of a mile.

The blister rust has not yet reached many sections of the country. Quarantines against shipment of blister rust host plants into disease-free regions are enforced and



FIFTY YEARS AGO AN OPEN PASTURE

(This land near Chestertown, N. Y., grew wheat in 1865 and was open pasture until 1875. Sample plots now show a yield of 87,000 feet of white pine per acre, the logs being worth \$25 per thousand feet delivered at a nearby sawmill)

the spread of the disease will be slow if cultivated black currants are eliminated.

The term "white pine" includes nine species of pines native to North America, the most important of these being eastern white pine, western white pine and California sugar pine. All trees of the white pine group are subject to attack by blister rust. The standing white pine in the United States is valued at not less than \$500,000,000 and that in Canada at \$600,000,000. These pines are among our most valuable timber and ornamental trees. They grow rapidly, produce high yields of lumber of excellent quality and are found over vast areas from Maine to California.

Eastern white pine has played a leading part in the commercial development of America. From 1623, the year that sawmills in New York first began to manufacture it, until 1890 the word "lumber" was practically synonymous with white pine. White pine forests originally covered about 350,000 square miles in the eastern United States and are estimated to have furnished approximately 500,000,000,000 feet, board measure, of the kind of lumber that to-day sells for \$50 or more per thousand feet.



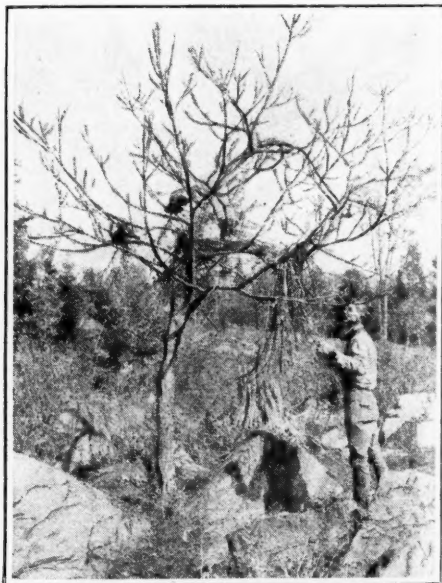
A YOUNG WHITE PINE IN THE LAST STAGE OF DEATH FROM BLISTER RUST

The virgin white pine forests of the East are practically gone, but abandoned fields, old pastures and cut-over lands are producing second-growth pine that is cut when the trees are from forty to fifty years old, with profits to the owners ranging from \$5 to \$15 per acre for each year of growth.

Western white pine and sugar pine have wood similar to eastern white pine. Thousands of acres of virgin growth of these species remain and now produce an important part of our national timber supply. The problem of controlling the blister rust in the West is arousing great interest because of the peculiar economic importance of the white pines in forestry operations. The ultimate future of these forests (national, State and private) and many lumbering operations depend primarily upon accomplishments in controlling the blister rust there during the next ten to twenty years. A comprehensive program for control has been initiated by the Western States in coöperation with the Department of Agriculture.

In the Northeastern States approximately a third of the white pine area has been cleared of currants and gooseberries at an average cost of 33 cents per acre. From 1917 to 1921 experiments in local control were conducted by the Department in coöperation with the infested States.

In order to assure continued stability in the production of white pine, the Department of Agriculture has placed forty blister rust control agents in the white pine counties of New England and New York under a coöperative agreement with these States. These men, working in harmony with the county agricultural extension agents, show pine owners the disease on their own pines or nearby and encourage them to coöperate with the State or with each other in doing the required work. State and Federal inspectors check up on the efficiency of control work and thus insure results. Under this plan in 1923, more than 800,000 acres were cleared of wild and cultivated currants and gooseberries at a cost of less than 20 cents per acre. In New England and New York, 123 towns appropriated funds to eradicate currants and gooseberries in their communities and, in addition, over 2,200 individual pine owners applied control measures. The progress made in this work indicates that the commercial pine areas in these States will be protected from the rust during the next five or six years. In many small areas the young growth has been severely damaged or destroyed, but if the control work is done before the seed trees are killed, the land will reseed to pine.



DESTROYING THE GOOSEBERRY BUSH TO PREVENT THE SPREAD OF BLISTER RUST
(In New England and New York, under direction of the Department of Agriculture, 800,000 acres have been cleared of currants and gooseberries. The bushes are pulled out of the ground and hung up to dry-out and die)

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A LODGE-POLE PINE FOREST, IN YOSEMITE NATIONAL PARK, DYING FROM THE RAVAGES OF A NEEDLE-BORER

(For twenty-five miles along Tioga Highway, what was once a verdant forest is now a bleak wilderness of dead and dying trees. No remedy for the disease has yet been found)

DYING FORESTS IN THE YOSEMITE PARK

BY JAMES CLYDE GILBERT

OUR National Parks, if they are to keep the high regard of the people, must present in themselves that intrinsic scenic value that makes them so desirable to those who visit them each year. They must offer that maximum recreational opportunity, that typical dignity and grandeur that is expected by the thousands of tourists who swarm to them each season.

It is particularly distressing to learn that the beautiful lodge-pole pine forests of Yosemite National Park are infested with an insect known as the needle-miner, which is rapidly killing the shapely trees that clothe the ranges of the northern portion of the park. Thousands of acres of this splendid pine forest have been laid waste by the ravages of this destructive insect.

The Tioga Road westward from Mono Lake runs through one of the most picturesque wooded sections of America. Here the lodge-pole pine is at its best, forming extensive, dense forests. The young trees have very slender trunks, and often stand crowded together like grain in a field. In the soft California climate the tree reaches its greatest size and beauty. Many of the trees in this vicinity reach the height of 100 feet with a trunk diameter of one and one-half feet.

The Indians called it the lodge-pole pine, for the trunks supported the lodges built by the Indians. The natives also gathered branches of the lodge-pole and made a soft pulp of the inner bark, which they scraped out during the growing season. They shaped

this pulp into huge cakes and wrapped them in the leaves of the western skunk cabbage. The cakes were then baked in stone ovens and smoked for a week in a closed tent. This treatment preserved the bread indefinitely. It was inedible until boiled; but it made a very satisfactory ration, and was much used as a winter food by the Indians living farther to the north.

For a distance of twenty miles along the famous Tioga highway, what was once a superb forest is now a bleak and barren wilderness of fire-charred trees and dying pines. Fire followed the needle-borer and the other insects. So extensive has been the damage in this region that the tourists call the devastated area the "Dead Forest." While the Tioga road is open only two and one-half months in the year, it is a beautiful drive where the forest is green, and the fact that it is accessible but a small portion of the season makes it doubly enjoyable to those who drive that way.

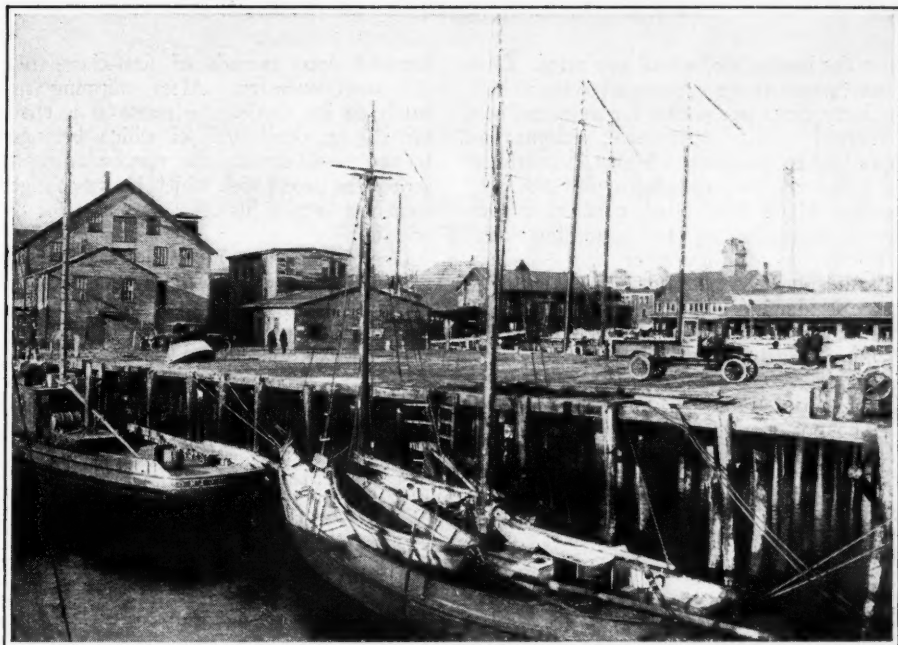
There seems to be no solution to the problem of the needle-borer. It would require spraying to kill the insects. Thorough and frequent applications would be impossible because of the thickness of the timber stand and the vast territory it would be necessary to cover. Gassing by means of airplanes would be out of the question because of the danger to the summer visitors, and the immense amount of material necessary to thoroughly cover the affected tract would preclude its use. The heaviest stands of living lodge-pole pine in the Yosemite occur in the areas south of the Merced Canyon and in the basin of the Illilouette. The devastation is spreading to these parts of the park.

The life cycle of the needle-miner is approximately twenty-five months. The broods hibernate during two winters. The eggs, for the most part, are deposited under the needle sheaths at the base of the needles. The larvæ begin to hatch about the first of August and continue hatching until about the middle of September. Soon after hatching the young larvæ attack the tender needles, by boring in near the outer ends, always working toward the petiole. This peculiar habit permits a longer life for

the attacked needles and insures fresh material for the larvæ to feed on. By the end of October the larvæ have grown to about 2 mm. long and have mined fully one-third the outer length of the infested needles. The first noticeable results are defoliation and a brownish cast of the dying needles. Several years of repeated defoliation cause the death of the tree.

The crowns and ends of branches are first to show the effects of the infestation. When the trees have been weakened by the ravages of the needle-miner the bark-beetles, of which there are several kinds, take advantage of their opportunity to aid the needle-miner in its work of destruction. The Government has spent thousands of dollars in seeking a remedy for the havoc wrought by this destructive insect, but so far no successful plan has been formulated. The only compensating factor thus far discovered is the fact that in many places where the lodge-pole pine is being destroyed mountain hemlock, fir and other species of trees native to the region are reproducing beneath the dead pines.

The original virgin forests of the United States covered 822,000,000 acres. They are now shrunk to one-sixth of that size and we are cutting our timber four times as rapidly as it is being replaced. Seventeen per cent. of the total forest area is now embraced in National Forests and National Parks. Every effort should be made either to stop the devastation of the needle-borer or to see that a prompt replacement is made with a species native to the region destroyed, and one that will be equally beautiful and more hardy than the lodge-pole pine. There will be no appeal to the tourist and nature-lover in that portion of the Yosemite that has no forests. Half Dome, Cathedral Rocks, Glacier Point, Bridal Veil Falls, the beautiful Mercedes. Where is the beauty in bare rock and falling water without that verdant background furnished by the forests? The name Virgin's Tears given to the falls just below El Capitan will be a striking name that will perfectly express the feeling of those who visit a wasted Yosemite and compare it with the Yosemite of to-day. Nothing is so desolate as a treeless world.



A SCENE AT THE FISH PIER IN GLOUCESTER, MASS., HEADQUARTERS OF THE ATLANTIC FISHING INDUSTRY

NEW ENGLAND'S FISHERIES

A MOVE TO RESTORE A FAMOUS INDUSTRY

BY E. C. LINDEMAN

AGRICULTURE is not the only productive industry which has faced the rigors of bankruptcy since the era of deflation. The fishing industry of the Atlantic Coast furnishes a surprising parallel to the precarious economic status of farmers since 1920. Farmers are discouraged, and likewise the fishermen. Farmers made heavy investments in equipment during the "fat" war years, and so did the fishermen; both groups are unable to make profitable use of these investments. Farmers have come to believe that someone has been tinkering with so-called "economic laws," and the fishermen are of the same opinion. Farmers are trying coöperative marketing in the belief that their salvation lies in collective action; the fishermen are about to adopt the same policy.

Gloucester, the pride of Atlantic fishermen, was anything but proud during the autumn of 1923. Pessimism pervaded its

commercial atmosphere, for Gloucester was founded upon fishing and that once flourishing industry had degenerated. One of its largest and oldest fishing companies was in the hands of receivers. Splendidly equipped beam-trawlers, to say nothing of numerous lesser craft, were made fast to their respective piers, nor had they gone forth to sea that season. Time was when more than four hundred fishing vessels claimed Gloucester as their native port; less than two hundred were actively engaged in fishing during the season of 1922-1923. Vessel-owners, captains, fishermen, and dealers—all had suffered and all were discouraged. Having been convicted of monopolistic practices, seven members of the so-called Boston "fish trust" were serving jail sentences.

In the meantime, mackerel were selling for one, one and one-half and two cents per pound; more than one catch was dumped

into the harbor for lack of any price. Consumers were at the same time paying as high as forty cents per pound for mackerel sold at retail stores. Prominent citizens had appealed to the United States Department of Commerce for assistance, but the only advice which Mr. Hoover could convey was a suggestion to "try something new." The mayor of Gloucester had questioned the women's clubs in an effort to increase demand, but no results followed. Something was radically wrong with the fishing industry and everyone intimately connected with fishing was baffled and perplexed.

The port of Boston receives annually an average of 200,000,000 pounds of food fish. This amount might be extensively increased, as was demonstrated during the war. But 85 per cent. of all the fish sold in Boston is consumed within a radius of 150 miles of that port. There are in New England alone more than one hundred towns with populations ranging from 2,500 to 19,000 with no fish markets. Canadian dealers have learned the method of shipping car-load lots of refrigerated fish to the Middle West, but no car-load lots of refrigerated fish are shipped from Boston. In short, no sustained efforts have ever been made (scientifically) to study and extend the market. Fish are as good food on Mondays as on Fridays, but in some inconceivable manner this fact has never been advertised.

The distribution of fish is in the hands of more than forty dealers or middlemen in Boston. In view of the present markets, one-eighth of this number could easily and effectively handle and distribute the product. Application of improved methods of distribution might make it possible to lessen that number. At present these dealers exercise absolute control over prices. The fishermen assume all of the risks; they catch the fish, clean, box, ice and ship them, whereupon the dealer pays whatever he pleases. The case is exactly the same when the fish are sold upon the so-called "open (or auction) market."

The result may be illustrated by considering the case of the fisherman who

brought 6000 pounds of first-class fresh fish to Gloucester. After shipping this catch to his dealer, he received a check for \$64.24, one-fourth of which belonged to the vessel-owner; the remainder represented the profit with which he was obliged somehow to pay his crew, expenses for the trip, etc.

One of the curious factors in this situation is the discouragement of the dealers. All of the advantages lie with them, and yet they insist that their profits have diminished.

Apparently, exploitation has proceeded so far that even the exploiters have been caught in the recoil. In any case, the dealers, with but one or two exceptions, appeared entirely willing to cooperate in an experiment to improve the industry.

Through the instrumentality of a youthful Boston attorney, a Cambridge professor, and two progressive officials of the Fishermen's Union of the Atlantic, an experiment has been set in motion. It is none other than the recourse to cooperative marketing—the same remedy which the farmers have adopted as the solution of their difficulties.

Mr. Aaron Sapiro, who is the consultant for eighty cooperative marketing associations, was called to address the fishermen, the captains and the vessel-owners. He emphasized the striking parallel between the condition of the fishing industry and agriculture. His suggestions were accepted almost unanimously and the organization of the cooperative marketing machinery is now in process.

Initial efforts will be directed toward the elimination of speculation, extension of the market, and improvement of handling the catch. Financial assistance for the early and experimental stage of the venture is assured, and we shall now witness the fascinating procedure of a trade union assuming control over a collapsed industry by means of a substitution of collective marketing for individual speculation. If the fishing industry can be saved by cooperative marketing, there will be available a lesson and a technique of almost unlimited possibilities of extension and application.



MR. WILLIAM A. BROWN

(Secretary, Fishermen's Union of the Atlantic)

WHERE ARE THE WOMEN VOTERS?

BY MARJORIE SHULER

WOMEN have been voting throughout the United States for four years. They have not fulfilled the prophecy that they would bring about a political millennium; neither have they fulfilled the prophecy that they would shatter the American home. Having sowed to the dissatisfaction of the prophets, they are reaping a whirlwind of criticism on the eve of their second national election.

Where are the women voters? is the demand of those whose great expectations have been frustrated. Where are the women voters? is the demand of the nation confronted by the terrible indictment that only 49 per cent. of its qualified voters, men and women, went to the polls in 1920.

Where are the women? They are at home, where they always have been, and from whence a needy nation must drive them if it is to have the votes of any considerable proportion of its total electorate when a President of the United States is chosen on the 4th of next November.

The women suffragists themselves neither promised the millennium nor admitted any truth in the prediction that political emancipation would mean emancipation from homes and motherhood. But there was one big fallacy in their reasoning. They over-estimated the intrinsic value of the ballot. We can stay at home more than ever, they said on the platform and in fireside discussions, because

when we are voters the politicians will do our work for us. They expected that their votes in themselves would form a bridge permitting them to walk dry-shod and unruffled over the Red Sea of politics into the promised land of citizenship.

Women were not nationally enfranchised in time to participate in the national party conventions four years ago, save as the individual States which had already given them the ballot opened the way. So women generally got their first rude awakening at the State conventions. Small groups of them went to the sessions. They were not met with brass bands. Nor were they recognized with "safe" positions on tickets.

Where they won a place it was usually in a hopeless district, and their welcome lacked the warmth which they had anticipated.

The women retired. They faced the disagreeable fact that they must get out and do the grubbing local party work, often unwelcome, usually unappreciated. They have done this to a certain extent, and they are going to the conventions this year in greater numbers and with stronger backing. But they know perfectly well that they still have not enough of either. And they know perfectly well what the chief trouble is.

The ballot in itself is not a bridge. The waves show no indication of dividing. And to the women the sea of politics looks very wet and exceedingly salt. Hence an over-



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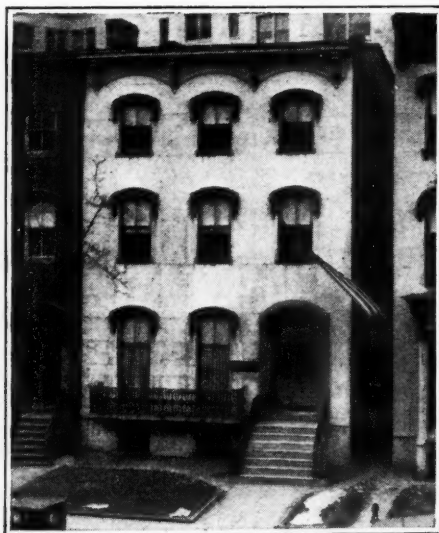
**MRS. HARRIET
TAYLOR UPTON**

(Vice-chairman of the executive committee of the Republican National Committee)



**MRS. EMILY NEWELL
BLAIR**

(Vice - chairman of the Democratic National Committee)



THE NATIONAL CLUB-HOUSE OF DEMOCRATIC WOMEN, IN WASHINGTON
(At 820 Connecticut Avenue)

whelming number are remaining on dry land, and of those who have entered some are accused of getting in considerably beyond their depth and climbing out to comfortable positions on party machines. Undoubtedly it is true that some of the rescued mistake the machine for the party. Undoubtedly it is true that some actually prefer the machine to the party.

But equally it is true that a considerable number of women are honestly convinced that they can better reform the party from within. They recognize that they have human nature to deal with, inside or outside any party; and they prefer to try to overcome the qualities in human nature which make a bad machine seem to succeed, rather than to scream at the party from a safe distance outside. The public sees little or nothing of the stirring fight of the individual woman within her precinct organization or her party club. But the fight is there, even though in the decided minority, and there are enough leaders speaking independently to show that some women know what they want and intend to get it.

One Way to Interest Women Voters

For instance, the generosity of the Democratic National Committee is being much stressed at the moment, because the committee, following its plan of equal repre-

sentation for women on party committees, has recommended to each State that eight instead of four delegates at large be sent to the national convention in New York in June, the additional four to be women. When the committee was debating this point, it was a woman who clinched the argument. Mrs. Emily Newell Blair, the dynamic vice-chairman of the National Committee, rose and said "speaking practically." The words "speaking practically" opened nearly every sentence of her little speech, which was to this effect: "What you want is women to help get out the vote next November. The best way to interest the women is to get them to the convention. The best way to get them to the convention is to make them delegates." It was a new kind of "practical politics," and it carried the day.

If every State were to take advantage of this opportunity, says Mrs. Blair, "there would be 172 women among the delegations-at-large in the convention at New York in June, besides the number that undoubtedly will be among the Congressional delegations. Such a number would mean that women would wield great influence in the national convention." And Mrs. Blair proceeds to prove her point:

In 1920, before national suffrage was adopted, there were 96 women in the Democratic convention at San Francisco as delegates, and 202 as alternates, which carried the privilege of seats on the convention floor. These 96 women delegates represented 27 States, which meant that in each of the caucuses of 27 States, one or more women were present and voted on various subjects, including the selection of that State's member of the resolutions committee. In that convention ten of the eleven planks in the platform of legislation affecting women and children offered by the League of Women Voters were incorporated in the Democratic party's platform. Of the eleven planks offered to the Republican convention by the same group of women, only three were adopted. This shows, I am convinced, the effect that women delegates, even so small a percentage of the total as 96 to 1904, had upon the Democratic convention.

One of the foremost figures in the suffrage campaign was Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, now vice-chairman of the Republican National Committee. With Mrs. Upton's assistance the committee has shown its generosity in another way. The women on the Republican National Committee are "associates," because the committee believes that it has no right under its governing rules to admit them to full membership. But it has appointed a large number

of women to the committees for the national convention at Cleveland in June. The cherished Platform and Policies Committee, for instance, will have 20 women among its 51 members, which means that a number of veterans have given up their places—including Charles D. Hilles, of New York, whose seat on the committee this year will be occupied by Mrs. Charles D. Sabin, president of the National Women's Republican Club.

Both of the major parties have appointed women on their convention committees and each has a chairman of women's convention activities—the Republicans naming State Senator Nettie Clapp, of Ohio, and the Democrats selecting Miss Elisabeth Marbury of New York.

Only Capable Women Candidates

Woman-suffrage speakers always laid great stress on the statement that they would never vote for women as women, but for the best candidate irrespective of sex. Women voters have proved the truth of this contention—proved it too thoroughly to suit some of their critics. Three factors have contributed to the defeat of women nominees: the fact that they have often been named in an "off" district, where the party had little hope of success; the fact that women candidates acceptable to men are not always the choice of women; and the fact that so long as the number of women office-holders is small, women are determined that none but the best shall be set up, by whom the rest of their sex shall be judged.

The question of equipment and training is set forth by Mrs. Blair, who has said:

As a woman interested in politics, naturally I am anxious to see women in political office. But I do not believe that women should run for office unless they are especially fitted for it. Where a woman candidate can go before the electorate with every claim of fitness and experience for the office, I believe she does well to seek it. My personal belief is that a woman should take the same route to high office that the majority of men do. That is, if she aims at the Congress, to begin with her state Legislature and obtain that valuable experience. Women lawyers should fit themselves for judge-ships, and other women who want political office should begin at the lowest step, that they may prove themselves and gain all experience possible.

The first big piece of work confronting the women is to help "get out the vote" next November. They are hard at it. Most of the large national organizations



THE NATIONAL CLUB-HOUSE OF REPUBLICAN WOMEN

(At 6 and 8 East 37th Street, New York City)

of women have united in the campaign to supplement the efforts of the party women.

Training Lecturers and Speakers

It is not intended that these votes shall be mere scraps of paper, glutting the ballot boxes and increasing the ignorant electorate. Women's non-political organizations and the women in the parties are sending forth speakers, literature, and instructors for schools. The Democratic women, with Mrs. Halsey W. Wilson in charge, have held schools of democracy in thirty-two cities, covering every part of the country, and are now supplementing this plan with a twelve-weeks' correspondence course. The Republican organization lay stress on local self-determination, so that its schools and lectures have largely been a matter of local decision. Now they have started a series of "political Plattsburgs," by which they hope to train 100,000 women for campaign work in their own localities.

These political Plattsburgs started in New York, as they were originated by a New York woman, Mrs. Arthur L. Livermore. Missouri has had five speakers' training schools; and Massachusetts expects to train enough women to beat its own record in the last campaign, when it placed 200 women speakers in one month. The Women's Republican Club of Massa-

chusetts was founded in 1922, has ten departments and 1600 members. In addition there are twenty-four local clubs, with a membership of about 7400; and it is estimated that 16,000 women participate in organized Republican work in the State. The Massachusetts women have just sent out the first issue of their new magazine, the *Massachusetts Elephant*. New Jersey, Pennsylvania, New York, Illinois, and St. Louis are among the Republican organizations which print magazines. The list of Democratic women's publications is headed by the *Fortnightly Bulletin*, edited at the national headquarters in Washington by Mrs. Blair Banister, sister of Carter Glass, United States Senator from Virginia.

Every year is an "on" year with the women political campaigners. "We never will shut up the political shop and go home between elections, as the men good citizens do." So promised the women when they were asking for the vote.

The Club-House Appeal

The number of club-houses throughout the country are proof of the way the women are keeping this pledge. The two national club-houses are located in Washington, where the Democratic women opened headquarters in January, and in New York, where the Republican women opened their new home in February. The Republican club has grown up between two presidential elections. Its rapid increase to 1600 members, from nearly every State, had forced it to buy new quarters at No. 6 and 8 East 37th Street. The bond issue of \$160,000 to finance the house was subscribed by women from Maine to California. The house has an auditorium seating 400, a library, two restaurants, and a lounge; and on the street floor it has two shops, one of which will be used for campaign purposes.

The Minneapolis Republican women have one of the most unique of the local club-houses. The way to any voter is by the stomach, said they, and they opened a tea-room called the Blue Elephant. The Blue Elephant was so successful that it soon acquired a Red sister, and now a Green Elephant is about to enter the arena. Delicious food is served every day at reasonable prices, with a political speech thrown in. Minnesota has about 35 women's Republican clubs with 7000 members.

The luncheon club idea is a popular one, the first in the Democratic ranks having

been started in Philadelphia. The Philadelphia club, with a membership of 1000, prints the speeches delivered before it and sells them to subscribing members all over the country. Philadelphia also has a Democratic women's club-house. Dallas County, Buffalo, and New York City have Democratic women's clubs which have passed the 1000 mark, but emphasis is also laid upon the small groups of fifteen or twenty women—such as the Maine cross-roads clubs. Mrs. Thornton Lee Brown of Joplin, Mo., national organizer of the Democratic women's clubs, has traveled in twenty States in the past two years.

Hundreds of Women's Clubs

The Republican women's clubs are equally thriving. New Jersey women organized in 1920 with 600 members, and reorganized to provide for local units. It now has 308 local units in 363 cities and towns, with an active membership of more than 100,000 women. The Illinois Women's Republican Club has 82 chapters with approximately 24,000 members, and also has a Business Women's Republican Club. Pennsylvania claims 30,000 members in its 145 women's clubs, and Utah has 78 clubs. Fifteen new clubs have recently been organized in western Colorado. New England is active, with 75 clubs in Connecticut and some 3500 organized Republican women in Rhode Island.

Indiana has about 50 women's Republican clubs, organized independently. The State of Washington has 34 women's Republican clubs, with 2000 members.

The Alabama Republican League, the Women's Republican Club of San Antonio, Texas, the Republican Study Club of Los Angeles, Calif., the Republican Women's Club of Wichita, Kan., are names of Republican women's clubs picked at random to indicate the spread of the political club movement. Arkansas now has 20 small study groups of Republican women. Mississippi is forming a Republican Women's League. New York Republican women have some 57 district clubs.

So it is that thousands of American women already have entered the Red Sea of politics. More must follow; and those who go in must prove themselves courageous, honest, unshackled, unselfish, and far-seeing if woman suffrage is to prove itself the gift of great price which the nation so much needs in its political affairs.

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

America and Europe—the Social Contrast

THE English novelist and historian, Hilaire Belloc, whose books have long been read on both sides of the Atlantic, and who is himself almost as much at home on one continent as on the other, suggests in the *Atlantic Monthly* for April certain points of contrast between the American civilization and the European.

Few Americans will be surprised by Mr. Belloc's selection of "the essential mark of the American social spirit." That, he tells us, is publicity: the spirit of the market place.

The contact of individual with individual is indefinitely more continuous and more frequent in America than east of the great water, on the farther shore. To us Europeans rudely surprising, this publicity is the note of all American things. It runs through every manifestation of American life and colors the whole. With us the market-place, the Forum, is a special meeting-place, privacy the rule. With the Americans the Forum is the habit of all life. In the Old World corporation stands separate from corporation, community from community, family from family, and the rest; among the Americans the sub-units—individuals, families, corporations—are possessed of a ceaseless molecular activity, as it were, and that especially of the individual; each affecting each directly and constantly.

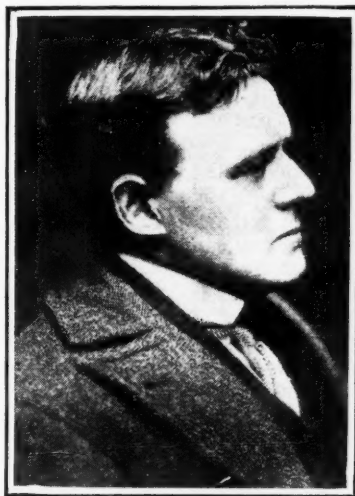
The interaction is perpetual between each man and his neighbors of whatever category of neighborhood. It is a quality like that which our physical scientists put forward as their guess at the constitution of a gas, distinguishing it from that of a fluid, a violent rapidity of motion in the particles. It is the extension to the highest degree of what the great Greeks of antiquity called the *political* nature of man: his civic character.

Mr. Belloc's next proposition, which he admits may seem paradoxical, is that intense individual contact and energy make for uniformity. There is, he maintains, no contradiction between the intensity of individual action and an almost mechanical similarity in general action. The two, he says, go together. Where the activity of the individual and his consequent energy in action are pushed to their furthest limit, you will have the most repeated contact between the individuals, and as a consequence of such contact the result will approach uniformity.

Mr. Belloc is not here passing judgment on the good or evil of extremes of individual contact (that is, publicity) but he is merely singling out as "the immediate mark, the obvious, external mark of America as compared with our European selves" this generaliza-

tion of the individual in action—his presence everywhere in perpetual touch with his fellows. In America, he says, wealth and opportunity connote extreme neatness, facile communication, plenty of noise and metal—and no seclusion. In Europe, on the other hand, wealth is marked by an extreme of seclusion; a horror of noise; a carefully acquired distance from communications; a good deal of dust on old books and furniture.

Emphasizing uniformity as the second effect of publicity in America, Mr. Belloc remarks:



HILAIRE BELLOC

The rapid vibration of individual life has not led to a multiplicity of private habits as a slower but progressive individual pace might have done. It has led to the contrary. It has rendered the individual typical; a common mold exists into which men are run and their surroundings.

Thus the large hotel is of identically the same structure, plan, and end wherever you go in the United States; and if it be objected that the hotel is naturally so, being an institution made to be in common and universal, one may reply that nothing in Europe is more personal and "each-of-its kind" than our inns. One may add that the human house in America is equally on a pattern, its furniture, its reading, the very details of warming and of cooking and the rest.

As to the worship of Mammon in America, Mr. Belloc is convinced that Europe has wholly misunderstood the national attitude. At the risk of appearing paradoxical and fantastic to his European readers, he boldly says that no modern society is so free from the idolatry of wealth as the American.

To transfer admiration from the thing possessed to its possessor; to conceive that the mere possession of material wealth makes of its possessor a proper object for worship; to feel abject before another who is wealthier—such emotions do not so much as enter the American mind. To say to himself, "That man is an owner of great wealth; therefore I respect him as I would respect a great poet or a great soldier," is impossible to an American.

In Europe, according to Mr. Belloc, the contrary is true. He does not mean by Mammon the mere passion for getting money, nor the desire for what money can buy. Neither is it the envy of those who have more money than one's self. "It is the transference to the wealthy man of qualities not present in him and suggested only by the fact that he is wealthy. It is expressed in the feeling of general respect for a rich man and general contempt for a poor one, in the attribution of virtue to the

one and of vices to the other." It is that disease of the soul which Mr. Belloc says is "less present in the United States than in any other modern society."

The thing that has been mistaken for Mammon in the American attitude, according to Mr. Belloc, is the threefold conception

(1) that success in accumulation connotes effort upon the part of any man; (2) that American opportunity should make this equally possible for any man; and negatively (3) that there is nothing else in the state either so easily measurable as the money-standard or so universally present.

With one judgment passed by Europeans upon the American people—that they are happier than any people of the Old World—Mr. Belloc fully concurs. He declares that Americans are the happiest white people in the modern world, and he feels sure that the cause of their happiness is the quality of candor. The American people, he says, live in truth.

By this I do not mean that they have not the vices common to mankind, and the particular vices common to our Western race, and the still more particular vices which attach to their own predominant doctrines. What I mean is that the perpetual habit of repression, accompanied by an indurated falsehood of expression, which runs through and through the governing classes of Europe, is absent; and I am fully confident that to the absence of such an evil we must ascribe that other good of a light heart.

There is still in the atmosphere of the United States—and pray God it may long so remain!—a taking for granted of certain fundamental simplicities and sincerities in motive and action which we have overlaid with I know not how many traditional silences. Here in Europe, and particularly in England, a man who knows how government is now conducted since it ceased to be aristocratic, feels himself in the presence of silent men furtively beckoning one to another. In America he knows himself to be in the presence of men speaking frankly and aloud. It is the difference between foul air and fresh.

Estimates of Lenin

IN MOST of what has been published outside of Russia concerning the great Bolshevik leader since his death, there is a frankness which is unusual, to say the least, on the occasion of the death of so eminent a man. Thus, the Right Hon. H. A. L. Fisher, M. P., writing in the *Cornhill Magazine* (London), compares Lenin with Mr. De Valera, "another stubborn doctrinaire," and characterizes him intellectually as "quite third-rate." That, however, is not to deny his extraordinary will power.

Able men, such as Mr. Branting or Dr. Hagberg Wright or Mr. Bertrand Russell, found him thoroughly disappointing. He seemed too opinionated for greatness, a sectary living on borrowed doctrine rather than a thinker. The doctrine, however, was big doctrine, and so, though in his writing there is neither wit nor imagery nor eloquence, but only a strong, dogged, pedantic insistence on certain cardinal ideas, such as the class war and the dictatorship of the proletariat and world communism, it is impossible to deny to him a certain large effectiveness. He had the irritable intense originality which belongs to a man whose sense of values is utterly different from that which prevails in the organization of the world of which he was a part. He never

looked round a subject. He never calculated the cost of a plan. Of the dialectical power which goes to the making of a philosopher he was utterly devoid. His strength and his weakness lay in the fact that he did not challenge his creed, but was prepared to let it carry him to the end of the world. Of any form of speculation not fully in accord with his own he was stupidly scornful, and was content to dismiss Berkeley, Hume and Kant as the framers of non-sensical philosophies designed "to maintain the proletariat in slavery."

Mr. Fisher is strongly impressed by the conviction of destiny which early took possession of Lenin's mind. Many years before the war the belief that a world revolution was inevitable, that it would begin in Russia, and that he, Lenin, would be its captain, was firmly rooted in his consciousness. As early as 1907 he spoke confidently of these matters to Branting, the Socialist leader. Two years later he explained to Mr. Berendsen, of Copenhagen, the measures that he proposed to take when he assumed power in Russia. The Dane returned to his hotel in Lausanne and noted in his diary: "I met A. Ulianov at Vevey—a terrible man who intends to be master of Russia." That was in the summer of 1909.

In the *Contemporary Review* (London) Ariadna Williams characterizes Lenin as "a genius of revolution." She says:

Lenin became a revolutionary as a schoolboy. His whole family was thus inclined. His eldest brother, a student, was hanged for an attempt to murder Alexander III. Both sisters were under the surveillance of the police. This early enthusiasm for Socialist doctrines was common enough among the educated young people of Russia. Many of them dropped Socialism as they grew older, but not Lenin. He was a cold-blooded revolutionary, a theorist of revolution, not an emotional rebel. His tremendous energy was converted into an iron will for revolution, a will for power. Power over men was his only passion. From day to day, from year to year, that was the meaning and purpose of his life. It was in the singleness of his effort and aim that this implacable man was really strong.

Lenin's power as a terrorist is thus analyzed by Mrs. Williams:

Lenin created the Che-Ka a few days before his actual seizure of power. This loathsome weapon of Bolshevik rule, which cannot fail to provoke the abhorrence and detestation of all who have a heart in their breast, is the most terrible reflection of Lenin's truly diabolical contempt for men. Through the servants of the Che-Ka he and his assistants settled their accounts with the whole of Russia—not only with the bourgeoisie, but with the workmen, and especially with the peasants who refused to deliver their grain to Communists. For Lenin the terror was a weapon for leveling minds in an effort to nationalize public opinion simultaneously with the nationalization of capital.

Here Lenin's logic, which was erroneously considered unalterable, failed. It was not logic but the unquenchable thirst for destruction that never altered. When the revolution reached its extreme limit, not only all manifestations of a rebellious spirit, but mere freedom of thought became an object of hatred for him. So for some time Russia was converted into a graveyard. Life came to a standstill. The site was cleared for the erection of the new structure, for the creation of the promised Communist State. Lenin, however, proved powerless to build anything whatsoever. It may be that in order to attempt any constructive statesmanship at least some spark of faith in mankind is necessary. Bakunin's old formula, "The spirit of destruction is the spirit of creation," was brilliantly refuted by Lenin. Events have shown that the social destroyer is incapable of becoming the social reformer. He seems to have understood this. He turned to the ruins around him and said with his uncanny smile: "We have made a miscalculation. We have gone too fast with the social revolution. Russia is not ripe for it. Let us have the 'Nep' (New Economic Policy)." This retreat toward the capitalist system he had himself destroyed was Lenin's last significant gesture. The hand of Fate, as though completing a gigantic historical experiment, then removed from the world-stage this dreadful actor. But an evil force still flows over the world from his dead brain.

Severe as these judgments may appear, they are not so merciless as those expressed by a countryman of Lenin's, Victor Chernov, who was Minister of Agriculture in the Kerensky Government. He says, in *Foreign Affairs* (New York):

Lenin was a great man. He was not merely the greatest man in his party; he was its uncrowned king, and deservedly. He was its head, its will, I should even say he was its heart were it not that both the man and the party implied in themselves heartlessness as a duty. Lenin's intellect was energetic but cold. It was above all an ironic, sarcastic, and cynical intellect. Nothing to him was worse than sentimentality, a name he was ready to apply to all moral and ethical considerations in politics. Such things were to him trifles, hypocrisy, "parson's talk." Politics to him meant strategy, pure and simple. Victory was the only commandment to observe; the will to rule and to carry through a political program without compromise, that was the only virtue; hesitation, that was the only crime.

Lenin was often accused of not being and of not wanting to be an "honest adversary." But then the very idea of an "honest adversary" was to him an absurdity, a smug citizen's prejudice, something that might be made use of now and then jesuitically in one's own interest; but to take it seriously was silly. A defender of the proletariat is under an obligation to put aside all scruples in dealings with the foe. To deceive him intentionally, to calumniate him, to blacken his name, all this Lenin considered as normal. In fact, it would be hard to exceed the cynical brutality with which he proclaimed all this. Lenin's conscience consisted in putting himself outside the boundaries of human conscience in all dealings with his foes; and in thus rejecting all principles of honesty he remained honest with himself.

President Eliot on America's Religious Ideals

ENTERING his ninety-first year with an abiding faith in America's future, Dr. Charles W. Eliot writes in the *Atlantic* on "The Great Religious Revival."

In his survey of the present situation in the United States, as respects religion, President Eliot is concerned not merely with the opposing groups of Fundamentalists and Modernists, but equally with that large party or section which contains millions of men and women of scanty education who are not connected with any church, and, apparently, take no interest in any religious doctrine or practice.

Their children are not baptized or christened; if dangerous illness invade the family, no priest or minister is requested or even allowed to visit the sick one; when a death occurs in the family the funeral is conducted from an undertaker's "Funeral Parlor" or "Funeral Home," with such singing and reading as the undertaker chooses to provide. Marriage is a civil process only. The great events in any human life—birth, puberty, marriage, mortal sickness, and death—receive no religious notice. Children get no religious instruction whatever at home or abroad and grow to maturity without knowledge of Christianity or any other religion, and densely ignorant of the fundamental moralities and of good manners. No such experiment on so vast a scale has ever been tried since time began, as this considerable fraction of the American people is now trying—namely, bringing up children without any religious instruction, or any transmission to rising generations of the moral traditions handed down through primitive, barbarous, and civilized peoples in succession.

In seeking an explanation of the attitude adopted by the unchurched masses in this country, Dr. Eliot notes that the statutes enacted by many of the States to insure toleration in religion and to maintain the original policy of our Government that no religious tests should be required as qualification for office and that no law should be made respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, have had the effect of permitting millions of children to grow up without knowledge of either religion or good conduct. But Dr. Eliot finds that there has been roused all over the country an unexpected opposition to the theories and practices of the Unchurched. This opposition is gathering great strength, but is not yet organized for effective work:

This opposition proceeds from teachers, principals, school superintendents, and committee-men who see plainly in their own school-rooms the

effects of depriving children of religious instruction. From the observations and discussions of this opposition is springing a strong popular revival of interest in religion, its origins, its historical development, and its rightful influence on mankind.

Although Dr. Eliot naturally refrains from identifying himself with any party in the current controversy, his own views as to the future of religion in America may be gathered from the following paragraphs:

The Modernists are following Christ when they want to make their Church a family Church with God as Father, Jesus as brother, and motherhood and childhood as exponents of the heavenly life on earth. They are inspired by the best teachings of Jesus when they long to include in one all-embracing Church parents and children, friends and neighbors, and all people who enjoy religious rites performed in common, without questioning about the ancient phrases therein which imply beliefs no longer held. In all churches everybody joins in singing or chanting such phrases, when they have been set to music. Why may not—Modernists ask—everybody join in repeating similar phrases in familiar and beloved litanies and prayers? Let us all get together at stated times to worship and pray. True religion springs from common and positive loves and devotions luminously sincere, not from cold negations, or merely mental convictions.

This state of mind in millions of modern Christians testifies to the immense progress in religious liberty which has taken place since the Dark Ages and the Protestant Reformation. The Roman Catholic Church has had some part in this progress, ever since it accepted the leadership of Saint Thomas Aquinas. The progress of the world toward religious freedom, since Columbus sailed from Spain to find a shorter route to the East Indies, seems to the people of to-day almost as great as the progress in political liberty during the same period; and it is even more welcome.

The Church of the Future will be free alike to men and women who cling to ancient creeds and to those who believe that they have no creed. It will have no creedal or racial terms of admission. It will be active in palliative works of charity and mercy, and in all efforts to prevent suffering, disease, and sin. The most characteristic attitude and purpose of its members will be that they all fight persistently the awful evils which actually exist in human society, barbarous and civilized alike, no matter what theories they may individually hold as to the origins of those evils.

Especially they will accept the teachings of Jesus of Nazareth about children, family loves, and friendship, and will try to develop all the good tendencies in their own children, other people's children, and the community, and to suppress the evil. The spiritual leaders in that Church will be the ministers, the poets, and the singers; but the laymen, young and old, will have a large share in all the Church's fightings with existing wrongs. This is the Church which through its hopeful visions will in time bring about a great Revival of Religion.

The Lincoln School in New York City

SEVERAL years ago the Lincoln School of Teachers College, New York, was endowed by the General Education Board as an experiment in progressive education. In a recent number of the *New Republic* (New York) Miss Elizabeth Vincent, daughter of the president of the Rockefeller Foundation, pictures some of the activities of the school and sets forth the principles on which its work is based. As Miss Vincent describes it, the school

is an experiment of which the materials are a secure endowment, a carefully equipped building and four hundred boys and girls, whom scholarships and race and class quotas prevent from being a highly selected group. With these materials are working fifty men and women of high ideals and Missouri minds.

The Lincoln School is thus a scientific school. Education may be only a science-by-courtesy, but in no branch of pure chemistry is the scientific spirit, the reasonable, experimental attitude more essential. The purpose of the experiment is useful education. This means education which fits the child for life, which opens wide his capacities for usefulness and joy. The procedure of the experiment is to find out what the child needs to know for this purpose, and when and how to teach it to him. The aim, as well as the method, have a utilitarian, uncultured sound, for "use" is little associated with what is learned at school, and science, which is reason, with the stronghold of dogmatism. They imply something like vocational training, or the exclusive use of Binet tests. But a day in the Lincoln School is enough to dispel such unpalatable preconceptions.

As the guiding principles of the school, Miss Vincent enumerates four.

The first is this:—Nothing has educational value which is not immediately important to the child—that is, unless he learns a thing because it is intrinsically interesting to him, or serves what seems to him an important end, it does not merge into his permanent usable experience. The second:—since there is no compartmenting in life, the school that trains for life must make as few artificial barriers between subjects as possible. Nothing learned in one connection should be forgotten in another because it appears out of its first setting. The interrelations of things must be strengthened, not cut. That is why children at the Lincoln School do only one thing at a time. The third is in a way like the second:—education through all the senses is richer and more permanent than education by eye and ear alone. By *doing* children learn more quickly and more usefully than by merely being told. And lastly, actual freedom and responsibility, actual group-life and coöperation, are the only sound training for making self-controlled, responsible, public-spirited citizens of a democratic country.

These guiding principles, according to Miss Vincent, cut down the waste of abstract studies and give vitality and purpose

to every feature of the school, so that every effort counts for something in the child's experience. The application of these principles becomes simply a form of economy:

The result of this economy is something more than quicker and more accurate learning. Take, for example, the elementary grades. In ordinary schools the end of all endeavor for the first six grades is a certain amount of skill in reading, writing, spelling and arithmetic. These minimum requirements are concentrated upon with single-minded energy. There is drill and more drill, and busy manipulation of abstract symbols. Besides the skills a certain number of dates are connected with incidents from history, and pushed, with the capitals and products of the world, into unwilling memories. This is waste. The Lincoln School cuts down the waste, not by more energetic concentration on the essential skills, but by looking beyond them to a broader purpose. The minimum requirements become not an end but a means.

What the elementary grades give besides the skills is an attitude, an idea that the world is full of a number of things worth finding out about, a background of vivid sensation and sound social discipline. Mastery of the mechanical skills is carried in this broader aim, complementing and exploiting it. One of the first three grades, which are concerned chiefly with the world close about, may build a toy city, for instance, with docks and stores and fire engines, or a farm with fauna all complete. It does not matter which. What does matter is that working together they make something they feel is eminently worth while, something that they can see and hear and feel—and even taste and smell if possible.

Then if they read or write about this thing their chances of putting willing effort into the task are very good. And willing effort is the secret of quick learning and long retention. If they add columns of figures which represent their lunch expenditures for the week, or make change with real money for deposit in the school bank, they learn to add more quickly than if they drilled only on desiccated examples out of a book. If they write a letter to a lady to thank her for giving them a torpedo fish to keep, they pay more attention to their orthography than if they simply copied "the fox jumps over the lazy dog" twelve times for their teacher.

By engaging in activities rather than drill, they learn to draw on the whole uncompartimented resource of their experience. The creative music pupils decorate their drums with designs worked out in fine arts. A play written to illustrate an incident in history must be in good English, accurately spelled and punctuated, clearly spoken, the costumes neatly sewn and harmoniously colored, the program correctly set up and printed. A class studying food must work coöperatively, touching on geography, history, economics, bacteriology, civics, arithmetic, household arts. It must use maps and charts, read rapidly and selectively in reference books, conduct experiments, make excursions, give oral and written reports. At the end of the sixth grade the Lincoln School children not only know reading and writing and arithmetic, they know how to use and enjoy them.

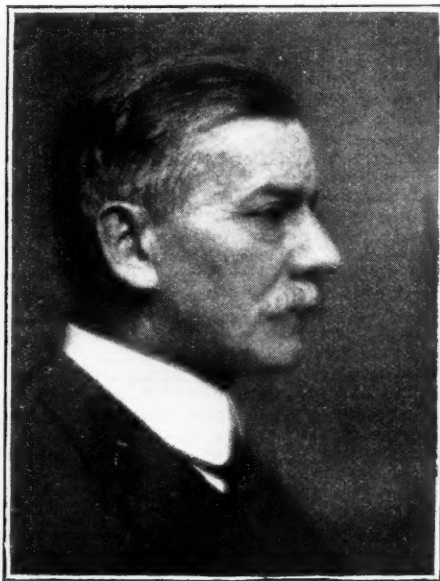
Some of the revised courses of study which have been evolved from this experiment are intensely interesting:

Out of the experimental combination of geography, history and civics, for instance, has been evolved a social science course which gives the essentials of all three in one reasonable articulated study. After a careful survey of all the possible materials for this course, and long deliberation over their arrangement, the first curriculum was drawn up and taught from mimeographed texts, which were revised each year for three years. Then in 1922-1923 the texts were published in pamphlet form and sent out to more than a hundred coöperating teachers, who used them and reported their criticisms. On the basis of these criticisms they were revised again, and sent out for a second trial this year. By continued research and ex-groups studying the old system, the Lincoln experimenters are making still further efforts to perfect their arrangement. When the work is finished, they will have the experience of other practiced teachers besides their own to prove the success of the Lincoln method of teaching the most important body of information which young citizens can learn.

The content of the course is not linear but three dimensional. It does not artificially disentangle history, geography, and civics, but deals with topics

into which enter all three at once. The first seventh grade pamphlet is called *Town and City Life*, beginning, that is, with the immediate environment of the child, with the plan of his town, the housing, public health, food and water supply, the schools, recreation, press, population, etc. The study is carried on as a survey, for which the class organizes into a group with chairman and officers. Then, as it is necessary to have a civic laboratory, they draw up bibliographies on towns and cities, write to civic organizations for bulletins and literature, start scrap-books of newspaper clippings, and keep bulletin boards and current magazines in the classroom. By the end of the course, they have prepared enough material in maps and plans and graphs to give a community exhibit of conditions in their city. The next pamphlet deals with key industries in a modern nation, the next with the interdependence of communities and nations, the last (for the seventh grade) with a discussion of the American people, the races and nationalities which make it up, and how they settled the American continent. The newspaper will never be a bore or an effort for children who study thus the problems of their world. They will not have to grope for the unrelated facts they learned in school, for they are taught their facts in the way they need to know them, and in a way that lets them understand their interest and importance.

The Designer of the Lincoln Memorial



© Pirie MacDonald

HENRY BACON, 1866-1924

(The architect who designed the noble memorial at Washington to Abraham Lincoln was himself a native of Illinois, the State from which Lincoln went in 1861 to assume the duties of the Presidency)

SINCE the death of Henry Bacon, the architect, on February 16 last, many tributes from his professional associates have been printed. The *Architectural Record* for March publishes a characterization of Bacon by Royal Cortissoz, delivered before the American Institute of Architects at Washington in May of last year:

If I had to characterize Bacon in two words: I would call him an embodied conscience. A homely little story that came to me not long ago will enforce the point. It was told to me by the president of a university where Bacon was asked to design a fraternity house. He made the plans, and when the committee was through poring over them they said they wanted big plate glass windows. The plan called for small panes, and these, the committee said, would have to be changed. Bacon said: "It is necessary to the integrity of my design that the panes should be small. If you must have them large the affair is very simple. Give me back my plans, employ someone else and we'll call that little matter settled." The panes went in small.

You see it was not a little matter, after all. Nothing ever has been a little matter with Bacon—nothing that touched the honor of his art. He has built many buildings, studying all manner of problems. He has designed bank buildings and university dormitories, libraries and hospitals, churches and schoolhouses, a railway station and an astronomical observatory, a public bath and a bridge. In collaboration with our leading sculptors, with the

late Augustus Saint-Gaudens and with Daniel C. French, he has designed perhaps three score monuments. And in everything he has done he has been that embodied conscience of which I have spoken, seeking perfection. How nobly he could grasp it the Lincoln Memorial shows us.

There never was a more profoundly considered design. That building was studied and restudied and restudied again. Its smallest detail, as well as its mass, represents ceaseless meditation. And here I would emphasize once more the man behind the building. What is the style of the Lincoln Memorial? A natural reply would be: "The style of ancient Greece." But for my own part I would prefer to call it "the style of Henry Bacon." The great principles of the Lincoln Memorial, its majesty, its strong refinement, its simplicity, its beauty, its monumental serenity, you will find running through the entire long procession of Bacon's buildings. We must call him, I suppose, a classicist, but he has made the classic idiom absolutely his own and gives to his designs a superb individuality.

He has given it to the Lincoln Memorial, the culmination of his art, and there are other things in this masterpiece on which I would briefly pause. Think of what he has done for the country in making it so beautiful! Sooner or later most of our people will contemplate this building, and from it they will take away an impression certain to discipline and enrich their taste. And think, finally, of the deeper thing Bacon has done in placing his gifts at the service of those people. By some happy coincidence there are thirty-six columns inclosing the memorial, corresponding in number to the states that Lincoln knew in the last year of his life. Around his memory they stand on guard. The whole building stands guard, and with it the whole people. Bacon had more to do than recreate the type of the antique Greek temple. Scholarship could do that. He had to express the spirit of calm, settled fidelity in which the millions of the United States stand by the name and fame of Abraham Lincoln. Has he not, like the poet, risen to the height of his great argument? Has he not stated in enduring beauty the faith of a nation in an immortal leader?

The New Haiti

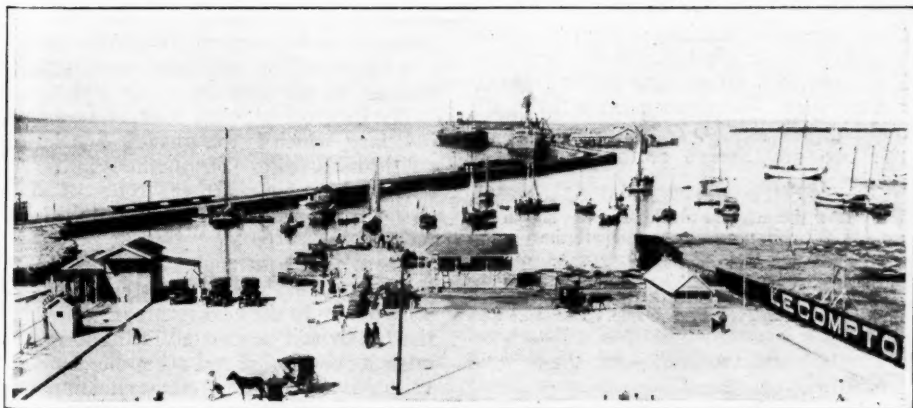
THE tremendous strides made by Haiti in the last eight years, with the help of the United States, toward peace and prosperity, emerging from a state of utter chaos, are described by Mr. J. Dryden Kuser in a recent article appearing in the *New York Tribune*. Under the headline, "Uncle Sam Guides Haiti Out of Squalor Into Peace and Plenty," he compares present conditions with the past, shows what great reforms have been accomplished, and what remains to be done.

Modern roads have replaced the "burro" trails, and bridges span rivers which could be forded only in the "dry" season. Sanitation has eliminated

much of the filth and disease of former years. A bankrupt nation has been made financially sound, and for the first time in their history the Haitians have a stable government.

During the five years prior to the intervention of the United States in July, 1915, seven Presidents had been killed or exiled, the last one being chopped to pieces by a mob on the steps of the French Legation. Foreign nations were clamoring for the payment of debts. Under the policy of the Monroe Doctrine the United States was forced to act.

Following immediate pacification in the coast towns, the United States entered into a treaty with



THE HARBOR OF PORT-AU-PRINCE, CAPITAL AND PRINCIPAL CITY OF HAITI

the newly formed Haitian government. The aims of this treaty are the establishment of permanent peace, the remedying of the existing financial chaos and the assistance of the United States toward economic development.

The first of these aims has been accomplished. United States marines have maintained order and discouraged revolution to the point where it would now be almost impossible. The country is now safe from bandits. In 1922 for the first time in Haiti's 115 years as a republic a president peacefully attended the inauguration of his successor, and he was only the second president who ever completed his term of office.

To aid the Haitians in maintaining their own peace, a national army of 2500 men has been organized, the Gendarmerie d'Haiti, in which a national spirit has been imbued. The success of this body has been so great that it has practically replaced the force of marines in the interior. A school for the training of officers has also been established. The police and fire departments and likewise the prisons have been thoroughly modernized. The death rate in prisons has been reduced from about 50 per cent. to 17-10 per cent.

Haiti's financial affairs reached their crisis in 1915. Rapid revolutions had pyramided the national debt. A large deficit was accumulated in the years preceding. Now, as foreign nations began to demand their long overdue debts, in accordance with the treaty of 1915, the United States established a receivership of customs and became Haiti's financial adviser. By floating external and internal loans the financial situation was straightened out and the old loans paid off. The gourde, the monetary unit, formerly subject to extreme fluctuations, has been stabilized at the rate of five to a dollar, with great benefit to commerce. Each previous administration had looted the treasury. The elimination of this graft, and honest collection of the revenues, were the two great gains established by the receivership.

To show the increase which Haiti has had in her exports it is only necessary to compare the 36,260,085 pounds of coffee exported in 1914-'15 with the 107,924,000 pounds exported three years later. This represents a larger amount than was ever exported under Haitian or even French rule. The same gain exists in the exportations of cotton and sugar, and these three products represent 95 per cent. of Haiti's exports.

There has been a tremendous clean-up of sanitary conditions, as has been the cus-

tom of the United States in all its tropical associations. In place of one hospital in the entire country there are now ten, not to speak of rural clinics and dispensaries which treat more than 50,000 cases a year.

While the Sanitary Service has done great things in the way of sanitation, the Public Works Department has been giving the country modern improvements. Eight years ago there was not an automobile in the country. Now there are many miles of good roads. This permits communication which goes a long way toward promoting mutual understanding and peace between the different districts. Also telegraph and telephone lines have been established.

It now has been shown just what the positive accomplishments of the United States in Haiti have been since its intervention there in 1915. Important as these have been in bringing order out of chaos, the work along economic lines only has begun. To stop now would be to have wasted the time and money which have been spent in the last eight years.

The causes which delay the realization of what is admittedly necessary are three. First, there is the attitude of reluctance with which the Haitians view American suggestions of change. Their objections must be met, they must be shown to their own satisfaction the advantages, and this propaganda work requires time. Second, the provisions of the treaty of 1915 limit the control of the United States to certain spheres and leave its hands tied in such matters as the judiciary and education. The third tremendous handicap to progress is the usual one of lack of funds. This situation is gradually improving. Receipts are increasing, but naturally, with a limited income, development which should be begun now must wait until the funds are available.

Education and agricultural development demand the greatest attention henceforth. Lack of money and the treaty restrictions result in a population 95 per cent. illiterate. There are now plans under way for a central polytechnic college, with elementary schools throughout the country.

The United States has no control over the judiciary, which is the weakest link in the political structure. The methods in use are borrowed from the French codes of more than a century ago and are sadly in need of reform.

There is no internal tax law in Haiti, the present revenue being restricted to customs only. In the near future it is probable that a law will be enacted in the form of a sales tax on alcohol and other merchandise. With this added income many vital improvements may be undertaken, and the work now under way accomplished.



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AIRPLANE VIEW OF NEW YORK AND ITS HARBOR
(Manhattan in the center; New Jersey at the left, and Brooklyn at the right)

The Port of New York Improves

BY FAR the most important single transportation reform being brought about to cure the glaring weaknesses revealed during the war, in construction at the port of New York, is the work of the Port of New York Authority during the last year. The difficulty was at the terminal point, and thousands of carloads of freight lay on sidings in the New Jersey meadows for months during the war period because docks and yards were glutted with more traffic than they were able to move on shipboard. Hearings in the past year have brought forth a distinctly sharp demand for port improvement, and in September this was recognized by the railroad executives of the region. They agreed to provide half a million dollars for completing the Port Authority's proposed Belt Line No. 13, which is designed to link up the various roads entering the harbor from the West, and to establish universal inland terminals, from which and to which, eventually, electric railroad and motor truck service will deliver all freight from Jersey City and

Staten Island for New York. This outlying belt line will be supplemented by another, serving the port as a middle belt line and linking up the New Jersey railroads with Staten Island roads, and with the New York boroughs of Brooklyn, Queens, and the Bronx, where water terminals are located.

Mr. Irving T. Bush, who is the president of the Bush Terminal Company, in South Brooklyn, has long advocated these very improvements, and the *Spur* (New York) for January 15 prints a remarkably interesting article by this expert on the water phase of the harbor development. Incidentally, Mr. Bush points out that the solution of this and other difficulties lies more in adequate and intelligent use of the existing facilities than in an entirely new arrangement. Mr. Bush is an advocate of decentralization, and he claims that we have made little improvement in recent times, except to expand our centralized receiving stations for handling less than carload lots in western lower Manhattan.

To supplement the universal inland terminals for the railroads feeding New York, Mr. Bush would establish more terminal centers along the waterfront, similar to the Bush Terminal. Prompt utilization of these terminals by car-float service would put them to immediate use, with but one difficulty—prompt dispatch of freight from them, without too great expense resulting from individual establishment of a car-float service to each railroad every day.

The float service which Mr. Bush suggests to obviate the initial difficulties of water terminals more nearly adequate to the demands of the port would be handled from one central clearing terminal somewhere on the New Jersey shore. If this central clearing terminal were established, it would be possible for the cars of all roads leaving New York through New Jersey to be sent together, instead of those for each road being sent from the water terminal in Brooklyn to the railroad terminal in New Jersey on separate floats. This would make it possible to sustain the water terminals during their infancy without prohibitive car-float service expense. Mr. Bush says:

It is frequently stated by those not familiar with the operation that the cost of getting the freight to Brooklyn is prohibitive. As a matter of fact, it is trifling. The large expense is not the movement of the float but the maintaining of the terminal upon expensive property and the handling of the freight at the terminal. The freight must be loaded and unloaded whether the car is transported by float or hauled by a locomotive over a railroad track. In estimating the advantage or disadvantage of a movement by float, a comparison must be made between the cost of the actual float transfer across the waters of New York Bay and the cost of maintaining and operating an expensive switching or tunnel system in one of the most congested cities in the world. The advantage usually lies with a float movement if properly organized.

Assuming, therefore, that a clearing terminal has been established somewhere on the New Jersey waterfront, where the floats from union terminals located in many parts of New York harbor can come, it is then necessary to get the freight from such a clearing terminal to a point where it can be dispatched over the different railroads. This can be best accomplished by the construction of a belt line running back of Newark through inexpensive property and designed to connect with all the railroads entering New York through New Jersey.

After a large amount of study and seemingly endless discussion, it is interesting to note that the minds of the railroads and the Port Authority have apparently at last met, and that the meeting-place is a conclusion that the first step to be taken is the joining together of an Inner Belt Line already in existence, but not at the present time operated for joint service. The second step under discussion is the consideration of an Outer Belt Line which, if constructed, will provide the facilities which I have

urged for fifteen years should be created. While this work could have been done fifteen years ago for a fraction of its present cost, the amount even to-day is not prohibitive, and if these two belt lines are built, facilities will be made available which will make it possible to construct terminal units at many convenient points. At the same time, great advantage will be given to New Jersey through the creation of belt roads which will make the prompt movement of freight possible through all of that section of New Jersey tributary to New York Harbor. It is a hopeful sign that this agreement has been reached and that there is a likelihood of steps being taken to carry such a plan into effect.

Reverting to the Port of New York Authority report, we may simply call attention to the fact that the railroad executives of the tributary region have agreed to finance the necessary physical improvements of Belt Line No. 13; to "provide a unified service over the line; to put its operations under a neutral director of traffic with adequate power, approachable by and accountable to all shippers or others for prompt and efficient handling of their traffic, and agreeing that the physical changes and operating plan should be worked out in coöperation with the staff of the Port Authority, subject to the approval of the Commissioners." The opinion was expressed that the proprietary owners would soon agree "to reciprocal switching arrangements which would give to all industries and shippers the benefit of direct line haul shipments over any connecting line, whether located on the terminal of that particular line or not, thereby cutting out all circuitous routings, avoidable long hauls, and unnecessary cost of service."

One of the most interesting suggestions contained in Mr. Bush's article in the *Spur* is that the entire transatlantic passenger line service be removed from the western shore of Manhattan to the new municipal piers on Staten Island, which are at present inadequately used by freight steamers with resulting congestion of freight on the Staten Island ferry. This West Side waterfront dock space could be much more usefully turned over to the railroads and coastwise steamships for supplying food and supplies necessary for life in New York. It will be interesting to watch this development during the next fifteen years. Mr. Bush makes the points that the liners are used but once a year by passengers from out of the district, while the other facilities are needed daily by the inhabitants of the port; and that it would be to the mutual advantage of everybody concerned to make the change.



SIGNING OF THE HISTORIC TREATY FOR FIUME ON JANUARY 27, 1924

(Seated, at the head of the table, signing the treaty is Premier Mussolini, of Italy. At the left, seated at the table, is Premier Pashitch, of Yugoslavia, and at the right is Mr. Nintchitch, his Foreign Minister)

The Fiume Settlement

THE outcome of the recent agreements concerning the long-standing differences and misunderstandings between Italy and Yugoslavia, are passed in rapid review by a writer in *Nuova Antologia* (Rome).

The convention between the two nations as to Fiume marks the end of long and laborious negotiations between Premier Mussolini and the representatives of the combined Serbian, Croatian and Slovenic governments, Pashitch and Nintchitch. The accord is duplex and comprises a convention regularizing the question of Fiume, and a pact of friendship between the two nations. The convention should be welcomed by all who recognize the need of a period of rest and peace, not only for Italy, but for all Europe. However, the Italian writer admits that the importance of the Fiume question was much exaggerated, and for a time it seemed to imperil the friendly relations between Italy and the neighboring countries. The new agreement signalizes the close of a rather troublous episode in Italy's foreign policy and the opening of a new period which promises better things.

The details of the accord in regard to Fiume are as follows: The city passes under the sovereignty of Italy, thus satisfying the

ardent Italian patriotism of its population, which Italy gladly welcomes into her midst. On her part, Italy recognizes in favor of Yugoslavia sovereign rights over Porto Baross, and grants a fifty-year lease of the harbor of Thacon de Reval, in the port of Fiume, thus conciliating the interests of Yugoslavia, which wished to have a secure port and deep water there for its maritime traffic.

International compacts of this sort have to be examined and judged in their complexity, without laying undue stress upon the details, a proper recognition of whose importance necessitates that perfect topographical knowledge only possible for a resident. In the present agreement, in any case, no one can deny that the Italian Government has honestly striven to obtain the best conditions. The essential result, both for Italy and Yugoslavia, is that on their respective eastern and western boundaries, a state of things has been realized making for peace and security, and that the "question of Fiume" ceases to embarrass Italy's foreign policy, to agitate the nation's life, and to furnish a convenient excuse for all who may wish to foment discord. When we reflect upon the immense sums of money

this dispute has cost Italy, and on the unfortunate influence it has exerted upon the foreign and internal politics of that land, it is a great relief to think that Premier Mussolini has been able to find a dignified and logical solution of the problem.

A directly favorable result will be the clearing up of Italy's relations with the states to the eastward of the Adriatic—something that will tend to foster just and amicable policies, economic and political, and to do away with petty jealousies. It is to be hoped that a like era of good-will may be inaugurated with the states of the Little Entente, with Greece, and with the dismembered parts of the old Austro-Hungarian Empire. Thus Italy will emerge from the dangers of striving after a military hegemony, the curse of pre-war Europe, which still seems to direct the policy of some great powers.

A notable advantage for Italy will be the possibility of a gradual but decided reduction of military expenses, and the need for this is becoming more and more imperative as a cure for the depreciation of the lira, and for the high cost of living, which bears so heavily upon a population still suffering from the enormous sacrifices imposed by the World War.

The Italian writer assures the Jugoslavian plenipotentiaries that the demonstration of sympathy on the part of the population of Rome fully mirrored the thought of a majority of the Italian people, and the press of both countries voices both reciprocity of sentiments and solidarity of interests. Indeed, the agreements seem to constitute important elements in European politics, as guarantees of peace and progress.

Italians in Brazil

THE strong check which has been imposed upon Italian immigration into the United States has induced the Italians to lay even greater stress on Brazil as an outlet for Italy's surplus population, and many important aspects of the question in the past as well as in the present and future are excellently treated by Renato La Valle in *Nuova Antologia* (Rome).

Germany's position in Brazil before the World War differed much from that of Italy. The former country had sent thousands of laborers to Brazil, but she had organized her emigrants with her usual method and intelligence, and she watched over their fortunes, and sustained and encouraged them by means of an active commercial propaganda. Above all, she took every care that they should not forget their native country even if they became naturalized citizens of Brazil. The State of Santa Catalina, one of the most prosperous of the Brazilian Confederacy, still shows the results of this policy. Indeed, just before the war the chief public officers of this State, from its President downward, were under German control, and a Senator Muller, a German by birth, was Brazil's Minister for Foreign Affairs; indeed, he would probably have been Brazil's next President, if the war had not forced his retirement from public life. To complete this picture,

the Germans of Santa Catalina occupied the foremost place as importers of linen and cotton fabrics, machinery, ironware, glassware, gold, platinum and silver, dyes, chemical and pharmaceutical products, and so forth. Italy, on the other hand, although there were a million and a half Italians in the State of São Paulo, had not succeeded in establishing any notable trade relationships.

With the conclusion of the World War, the European producers and exporters learned that a marked change had come about in the commercial relations with Brazil. The Brazilian consumers had become consumers of their native products, and an active campaign was being carried on in favor of the national industries, to support which resort was had to protective tariff legislation. To-day these Brazilian products are either absorbed by the home market or are distributed in the neighboring South American countries. In the State of São Paulo, a goodly percentage of the industries are under Italian control. In this connection there must be cited the complex network of manufactories created by Count Matazzo, the Società Meccanica of the late Count Siciliano, and many other promising enterprises.

The Italian colonist is highly appreciated in Brazil, but as yet Italy has not derived

any moral or economic advantages from this predilection, though it seems only natural she should enjoy certain commercial privileges in exchange for the immense benefits Brazil has derived from Italian immigrants. However, this is not the case, and the disinterested Italian observer cannot fail to remark not only a degree of indifference toward Italy, but even a certain coldness toward the efforts of Italy to subsidize her emigrants. As an offset to this, the writer strongly advocates a systematic regulation of the various classes of Italian emigrants, a considerable contingent of whom would be directly controlled by an Italian society.

As to the work for which the Italian immigrant seems eminently well fitted, the writer says in conclusion:

Let us consider that the immense forests and plains of Brazil must be conquered inch by inch, by laying out roads, by cultivating farms, by establishing railway, telegraph and telephone lines.

Outside of a few great civic centers, Brazil has only cities in embryo, which are in need of everything for their development, since the railway lines now existing in the federal territory are of very limited extent, although every kilometer of railroad augments the value of forests, farms, and livestock. In fact, we might say that so far the enormous territory of Brazil has been only scratched over the surface, and that for this very reason it opens up immense vistas for the spirit of initiative, of courage, faith and labor.

The Brazilians, in the course of a few generations, that is to say since the glorious conquest of their independence, have attained a grade of prosperity and civilization which commands our respect and admiration, but they cannot accomplish the great task unaided, because of their sparse population, not because of any lack of intelligence or will. On the contrary, certain of the natural virtues of the Latin race seem to have acquired new vigor in passing through the crucible of ethnic combinations. Now, in the new phase of the valorization of Brazil and of her inexhaustible and wonderful resources, the Italians seem to be the natural coöperators of the Brazilians, and this coöperation has all the better chances of success since the problem is only an economic one, and its solution must realize an equal harvest of benefits for both peoples.

A Franco-German Rapprochement

THOUGH it be rather a literary than a purely political occurrence, and falls decidedly short of complete harmony of feeling, yet an incident which might justify this title can only be encouraging at the present moment.

All who remember that most open-minded and cosmopolitan of German Helenists, Ernst Curtius, the historian, will be doubly gratified to find the name of his grandson, Robert Ernst Curtius, as author of a German book published in 1921, entitled "Maurice Barrès, and the Spiritual Foundations of the New France." The younger Curtius was born and bred in Alsace, "one of those young Germans of the class of 1900 who had no feeling of hatred for France, and would have welcomed a peaceful compromise of the Alsace-Lorraine dispute."

So writes Louis Gillet, reviewing the German book in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*. It has been generally forgotten how near that peaceful solution seemed, just before "the fatal St. Vitus Day of 1914." Maximilian Harden remarks that Poincaré came into office in January, 1911, at the head of a cabinet all but Pacifistic, with high hopes of settling the long feud by obtaining merely a slight "rectification" of the Eastern frontier, just sufficient to salve

French pride, with perhaps some measure of autonomy for the "lost sisters," within the German Empire.

Such a German as Curtius could not fail to realize the immense influence of Barrès (himself like Poincaré a Lotharingian), in those very years, among the unwilling German subjects on both sides of the Vosges, where his books passed secretly from hand to hand. Even in the fateful autumn of 1914, Professor Curtius, at Bonn University, announced a new course on the "Intellectual Leaders of New France," though even the translation of Barrès' books, particularly into German, had never been permitted. And, indeed, Barrès had first plunged in politics as a militant Boulangist, and he never abandoned the agitation for *Revanche*.

When at the close of the war the Allies occupied Bonn, Curtius withdrew to the Thuringian university of Marburg, yet he was powerfully impressed—though of course anything but convinced—by Barrès' magnificent lectures at Strassburg on the "Genius of the Rhine" in 1920, foreshadowing a large political policy of the French victors centering in that region.

The German book, which appeared the next year, is a philosophic effort to demonstrate the logical unity of Barrès' develop-

ment throughout his career, though his early books seemed to advocate an egotistic self-culture almost like Walter Pater's, while, later, "Regionalism" and "Nationalism" in succession stood, in the poet's soul, for utter devotion to his own unhappy Lorraine, even in bondage—and, again, to "*la patrie*," France herself.

The French writer's opening remark is that his attention was first called to the German book by Barrès himself, whose recent lamented death now permits him to discuss it with complete freedom. The survey of parallel citations, and formal Hegelian argumentation, have a depressing—even though convincing—effect on the reviewer's spirit.

Reason finds nothing to say in opposition: and yet! Barrès reduced to alignments of abstraction! the ardor, the impatience incarnate in human form, the man who of all others felt genius to be emotion: even a musical harmony! It is all the stranger because Professor Curtius fully realizes the great rôle played by mysticism in Barrès' scheme of existence.

Again there are bitter words, like the accusation that "Barrès' influence actually brought on the World War," which M. Gillet prefers to regard, apologetically, as mere sops to the German Cerberus, which have by no means saved the book or its author from accusations of "disloyalty," for showing high appreciation of any French leader.

But Curtius emphatically agrees with the French critics who credit Barrès with the chief share in arousing that passionate,

self-effacing devotion to the ideal of French unity and freedom which carried the nation through utter agony to all but unhopèd-for salvation.

The closing words of the German author are most memorable:

Germany possesses no Barrès. Whom have we, endowed with such gifts and such genius as to be for Germany what he was for France? Where is the poet capable of rousing the energies of youth, of becoming the leader of the Fatherland? As national leaders, our best poets, like Mann, Keyserling, Hauptmann, though true interpreters of the actual spirit of the people, are zeros, or even workers of harm.

It is certainly remarkable, too, that President Masaryk, calmest, sanest, maturest scholar-statesman in any of the new nations, accounts Barrès his master; and D'Annunzio owes hardly less to his intimate friend of twenty years' standing, to whom he dedicated in all loyalty his "Martyrdom of St. Sebastian."

There are more fortunate lands than either Germany or France, that might well utter once more, to-day, such a cry as Wordsworth's appeal to Milton's spirit. But the notable record of the hour is, that a German critic sets a French poet, romancer, and spiritual leader high above all such on his own side the Rhine, and the Frenchman—perhaps not so surprising—intimates that this alien judge does more adequate and intelligent justice to Barrès' many-sided and tireless career than has any one of his own compatriots.

The Jubilee of Paul Bourget

ONE of the brightest stars in the literary diadem of France is the eminent man of letters, Paul Bourget, who has recently celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of his entrance upon his chosen profession. Born in Amiens, 1852, he was but twenty-two years old when his first essay appeared in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*. The half-century which has passed since then has seen a prolific output from his increasingly skillful hand. We shall mention later some of the more important in this lengthy list of novels, works of criticism, and so forth.

The years have likewise brought him many honors and he may well feel that the crown of these is the special number of the *Revue Hebdomadaire*—the issue of December,

15, 1923—which is devoted entirely to tributes from the pens of various eminent men not only in France but in foreign lands. Prominent among the latter are the veteran English critic, Edmund Gosse, and the equally distinguished Danish litterateur, Georg Brandes.

Before quoting from some of these tributes we may sketch briefly the course of his literary career: During the first ten years after his début his work consisted largely of numerous magazine articles upon various subjects and of three volumes of distinguished verse. The profundity of his intellect was first displayed perhaps in the "*Essais*" which appeared in 1883 and the second series (1886) called "*Nouveaux*

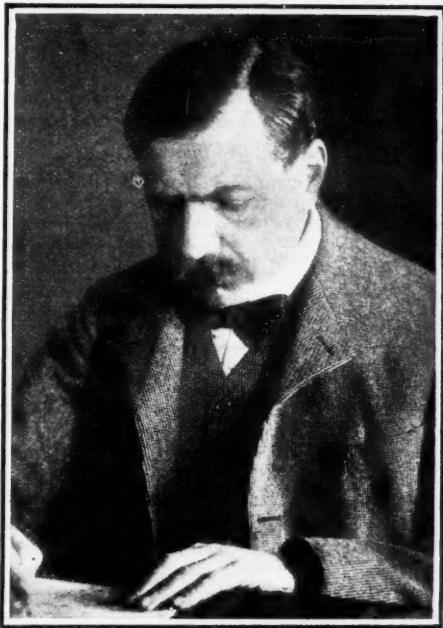
Essais de Psychologie Contemporaine." The latter has been described as "a singularly subtle and exceedingly searching inquiry into the causes of the pessimism then widely prevalent in France."

His first novel "*L'Irréparable*" was followed the next year by "*Cruelle Enigme*" and, likewise at intervals of a year by "*Une Crime d'Amour*," "*Andre Cornelis*," and "*Mensonges*" (Lies). These works are distinguished not only by brilliant psychological analysis but also by the delicacy and clarity of their style. But Bourget is no closet litterateur, he has traveled widely and recorded his impressions in a number of delightful books. In 1894, the year in which he was admitted to the Academy, he published an account of his travels in the United States. He has likewise traveled much in England, Italy, Spain and Morocco. Among his more recent works are "*l'Emigré*" (1907); "*L'Enfer du Decor*" (1911); "*La Crise*" and "*Pages de Critiques et de Doctrine*" (1912).

Among the celebrated copatriots whose tributes appear in the special number referred to of *La Revue Hebdomadaire* are his three fellow Academicians, Maurice Barrès, Robert de Flers, and Pierre de Nolhac. The first of these chose for his subject, "The Exemplary Life of Paul Bourget," while de Nolhac furnishes the concluding article, called "Paul Bourget and His Country." De Flers treats of the master as a dramatist and other authors consider him respectively as a poet, as a novelist, as a romanticist, as a critic, as a journalist, and as a traveler. We quote first from the preface by Francois le Grix:

It is fifty years, therefore, since Paul Bourget published his first article in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* and even more than fifty years consequently that he has worked without ceasing with all the conscience and the will of the perfect craftsman. . . . But Paul Bourget is not only the teller of tales, the novelist, the dramaturge, the critic, the traveler . . . he is by reason of all this and above and beyond all this the most representative figure of our epoch with respect to a great and pure devotion to the profession of letters. A rare type of humanity—for there is scarcely a profession which is undergoing more of a change—and it is one which is perhaps destined soon to disappear. The 16th century saw the birth of the humanist; the 17th that of the honest man; the 18th that of the encyclopaedist; and it was not until the 19th that we saw the flowering of the "man of letters" . . . devoted solely to his labors as a writer.

This followed by a brief but graceful message from Edmund Gosse opening with the words:



PAUL BOURGET, EMINENT FOR FIFTY YEARS
IN FRENCH LETTERS

It is a very great pleasure to be able to join in the universal homage paid to my old and illustrious friend Paul Bourget on the occasion of his literary jubilee. Thirty years and more have passed since we first met under the valued auspices of Henry James. The immense range of Bourget's imaginative work united to its profound and solid psychological value, is universally admired. He is the great critic of the modern soul, the indefatigable investigator of the instinct and the will.

Turning to Brandes we find:

. . . . I have followed with interest and admiration almost the whole career of Bourget and the divergence which has sometimes manifested itself between his opinions and my own has never diminished my sympathy for the writer, nor my respect for the man. Certainly he has traveled far enough from his point of departure. The time is remote when he was a disciple of Stendhal and of Taine. But he is always the master of psychological analysis and is almost even more remarkable as a critic than as a romance writer. Nevertheless his true fame rests upon his novels. I admire his studies of character. A personage such as the fifty-year-old baron in "*Mensonges*" is an unforgettable creation and this entire romance remains monumental.

De Flers says:

M. Paul Bourget has achieved great success in the theater. "*Un Divorce*," "*La Barricade*," "*le Tribune*," "*l'Emigré*," held the boards for many months. It is, I believe, almost unique, that a writer who seemed to be exclusively a novelist and who had achieved in this line a fame as brilliant as

it is solid, should allow himself to have been tempted by the stage and should have been able to carry over thereto so happily his observation of mankind and his preoccupation with the great problems of the present time.

Speaking of Bourget's travels in America, Georges Grappe observes:

When M. Bourget disembarked in the United States, he arrived in the great American democracy, daughter of Washington, of Franklin and of Monroe, with the idea that he would find a branch of the Anglo-Saxon forests among the virgin woods dis-

covered by the emigrants of the *Mayflower*. When he reentered Europe, mother of civilizations . . . he could not hide the melancholy surprise he felt! "This other world exists by the side of ours!" he writes in the last lines of his conscientious and sympathetic record. . . . He found that Newport bore no resemblance to the Isle of Wight or Brighton, Harvard to Oxford, Pittsburgh or Chicago to Birmingham or Sheffield, Mgr. Ireland to Newman or even to Manning. If "*Outre-Mer*" seems severe to Americans it is doubtless because of the long intimacy he has enjoyed since his youth with the English mind and manners and its so different culture.

An Important Forward Movement in Spanish Education

IN Spain of the Middle Ages the exchange of scholars with other lands was no uncommon thing, but during the period of the imperial decline there came about a gradual isolation of the Spanish universities. It was not until 1813, just after Spain's liberation from the thralldom imposed upon her by Napoleon, that new attempts were made in this direction. However, a period of eighty-five years had elapsed before these efforts began to bear fruit.

In 1898 the idea was put into practical operation when three scholars were selected from a list of nine normal-school students, having the highest standing, and supplied with funds for the completion of their studies outside of the country. Three years later, a new impetus was given to the movement by the Count of Romanones, who threw open scholarships to those to whom highest honors had been accorded in the doctorate, licentiate, or for noteworthy accomplishments in the lower branches of learning. The steps by which this policy was developed into its present more complex and ample phases are traced by José Subirá in *Nuestro Tiempo* (Madrid) for January.

According to the writer, it was not without difficulty that the proper organization was brought into being for the establishment of centers and "pensions" in foreign countries where Spanish students might live comfortably. At first the student was obliged to render a strict account of the amount allowed for traveling expenses at second-class rates. A sum of 4000 pesetas additional was granted for scholastic purposes. This was later increased to 4500 pesetas, which was supposed to suffice for

all needs—those of travel as well as of study. Another serious defect was the waste of time and effort incurred through the inability of students to take advantage of the archives and institutions of other countries and of the experience of older students. In order to correct these deficiencies, a Royal decree created in 1907 *La Junta Para Ampliación de Estudios* (Council for the Amplification of Studies).

This Council has devoted its activities to two essential points—first, to stimulate a current of scientific communication with the outside world, and to group into hard-working, disinterested nuclei the available intellectual elements in Spain. It has had remarkable success in attaining both these objects.

The activities of the Council have become increasingly widespread, and not the least important of these has been the finding of positions in various countries for native teachers of Spanish. More especially, says Señor Subirá, has the demand for such instructors come from the United States. It is cooperating with the Institute of International Education, headed by Dr. Stephen P. Duggan and located in New York, to bring about an exchange of professors between the two nations, to make known to the American people the Spanish culture in its diverse manifestations, and to intensify the cultural relations between the United States and all the Hispanic nations. The article states that the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research has also interested itself in the *Junta*. Needless to say, the Latin-American nations have profited by a large share of the *Junta's* activities, and

the Spanish Cultural Institution, created in Buenos Aires in 1914, has proved itself a powerful auxiliary.

Concrete evidence of the work accom-

plished is set forth by a table, showing that since the year of its creation in 1907 a total of 810 scholarships has been granted by the *Junta*.

British Debating Methods in American Universities

A NEW era in intercollegiate debating has recently been inaugurated in this country through the influence of the international debates held on both sides of the Atlantic between British and American teams. The first international contest was held in June, 1921, when Bates College, of Lewiston, Maine, sent its representatives to join issue with the Oxonians in the historic hall of the Oxford Union. Since then many British and American universities have taken part in international debates. These events have called attention to the strikingly different methods of student debating prevalent in the two countries. As stated in the *Christian Science Monitor*:

It is well known that English and American debating, both in method and in fundamental purpose, are miles apart. The background of the American debater is the court room; he is a trial lawyer pleading his case before a jury of three. The background of the Englishman is the House of Commons; he appeals directly to the audience to vote not on the technical merits of the debate—constructive argument, rebuttal, illustration, platform ability, etc.—but on the merits of the question at issue. To the latter a debate is in no sense a contest, as it is in America. This is why he sees no inconsistency in dividing a team, two speaking on one side and the third on the other, which to Americans seems like having a baseball game between two nines that have traded pitchers.

The same journal notes that the international encounters have influenced the methods of the participants on both sides. Last year's visitors from Oxford, were, it is said,

less individualistic than their predecessors, and disclosed their ability to do real teamwork. On the other hand, the Americans have come to a new appreciation of the need of sincerity and intensity of conviction, the lack of which has been the glaring weakness of American forensic methods and against which Theodore Roosevelt inveighed so forcibly in his autobiography. If international debating only saves Americans from the slough of dialectics, and nothing more, it will justify itself. College debating in America, particularly in its universities, according to many careful observers, is dangerously near this slough. The English debaters are helping their American friends back to firmer ground.

In the *Wilson Bulletin* (New York), Prof. A. Craig Baird, who occupies the chair of rhetoric and argumentation at Bates College, discusses the appropriateness of British debating methods for American Universities. The general conclusion he reaches is that "our traditional debate has a value too great to be disregarded." He believes that to do away with the team spirit—the desire to win for the sake of the game, rather than merely to elicit the truth—would lead to a serious loss of interest in debating. He says:

Under such conditions I fail to see why two universities should have strong incentive to get together. With school spirit eliminated, with no "home" or "visiting" teams (mind you, they should be so arranged that each "team" is made up of one visitor and one home debater), with the sport element conscientiously suppressed, it is hard to conceive of audiences in considerable numbers following the debates year after year, and especially hard to conceive of debaters undergoing that thorough preparation peculiar to the American debate.

To point out that the Oxford Union, without judges and competitive discussion, is the "greatest debating society in the world," is insufficient. The Oxonian, with his intellectual traditions and keen interest in the well-being of the Empire, finds satisfaction in mounting the platform, even though no judges appear. Politics to him is as important as cricket or Henley. Oxford is at the heart of the Empire. Over his tea he settles the fate of Gandhi; his Thursday night debate is merely a continuation of his dinner conversation. Later he will probably enter parliament—as did Gladstone, Salisbury, Birkenhead, and many others whose portraits line the Union walls. Under the parliamentary plan of election he may stand for any English or Scotch constituency. You cannot transfer to the American student this practical Oxford motive for debate any more than you can transfer the incommunicable spirit of Balliol to an American college. To assume that the peculiar conditions which produce exceptional debaters at England's oldest university can at present be duplicated in the American college is of course absurd. Until an equivalent incentive can be demonstrated, those of us who are associated with institutions in which the debating spirit is still glowing will continue to incline toward the contest feature.

Two advantages claimed for the British system are that it makes for better style and for better delivery. The English debating style is philosophical and literary, just as ours is practical and

legal. The differences, quite pronounced, are due not so much to contrasted debating systems as to markedly differing national experience and training. The Englishman has behind him his classical schooling, his intimacy with Greek and Roman orators, and his own rich literature and culture. His style, therefore, is comparatively dignified, original, at times even poetic. The first Oxford speaker in debate with Bates showed familiarity with Lincoln, Walt Whitman, Barrie, Plato, Arnold, Huxley, Browning, the Bible, and other sources. The style was idiomatic, spontaneous, unaffected. Such phrasing and allusion would for an American be

pedantry. Our undergraduate texts are standard works on economics, statistical abstracts, speeches of Lincoln and Roosevelt. Our collegiate style, in as far as it is original and virile, is the expression of our peculiar political and educational inheritance. Our faith in a rigid constitution, our exaltation of the Supreme Court, explain sufficiently the character and popularity of our judicial style of debate. And for many a year we are not likely to have done with this practical or judicial spirit. Even if our colleges should adopt the British debate formula, our speakers will continue to echo the language of Hamilton and Lincoln rather than that of Burke or Morley.

Mental Peculiarities of Different Races of Men

PHYSICAL characteristics of the different races of mankind are fairly well-known to all of us. But this is not the case with the intellectual characteristics, which, though equally well marked, perhaps, are subtler and less easy to discern at a glance. Undoubtedly, however, the understanding of the psychology of different races, not to say nations, is a matter of prime importance in various ways, as in commerce, politics, religion, and philosophy. At a meeting of the Austrian Academy of Sciences, held in Vienna in 1923, Mr. E. Oberhummer delivered an address on the "Psychology of Races," an interesting abstract of which we find in *Naturwissenschaftliche Umschau* (Berlin). We read:

If we take, for example, the two farthest removed poles of modern humanity, the Negro and the American Indian, we find the basic features of the former's character to be childlike gaiety, volatility, and sympathy, together with an entire lack of any serious concept of life; the Indians, on the other hand, are marked by silence, reserve and a sense of personal dignity. But both races appear to be incapable at the present time of producing any important works of culture (the extinction of the upper social classes which are the essential bearers of the seeds of culture apparently precludes any further possibility of a higher development). On the other hand, the Mongolian races, which are closely related, anthropologically speaking, to the American Indians, have produced very lofty examples of culture, and there have been periods when the Chinese culture far surpassed that of the Europeans.

The culture of eastern Asia is founded upon different racial characteristics from that of Europe and must, therefore, follow its own line of development. Even those Hindus who possess a mixture of European blood are separated by a profound abyss from our own world of thought.

The author remarks, further, that there is as great a cleavage between the Hindu mentality and that of the Chinese as between the Hindu and the European. He

points out that India is the inexhaustible source of religious speculation, whereas the Chinese have a genius for the positive and the concrete. He continues:

India has a rich philosophy and literature and a luxuriant and unique form of art; in the domain of science we find her producing worth-while things, as in that stroke of genius, the valuation of figures according to position; on the other hand, there is an entire lack of a feeling for positive knowledge, which is the reason why the history of India leaves us groping in an almost undated obscurity.

The Chinese, on the other hand, are distinguished by a reasonable system of ethics as well as for practical craftsmanship in the arts and for uncommon aptitude for commerce and business in general, surpassing all other commercial peoples in this respect.

Many features of race psychology appear to have a connection with physiological peculiarities. For example, the low degree of sensitiveness to pain displayed by all branches of the Mongolian race, which finds its intellectual correlation in the high degree of capacity for bearing torture shown by the American Indians, and in the tendency shown by all Asiatics to value life lightly, as well as in their taste for the horrible. The sense of honor among the Mongolians differs likewise from that of Europeans. They have an exaggerated sense of external composure and dignity (which is entirely lacking among Negroes). Real or supposed insults are borne with a mask of quietude but fearfully revenged when occasion offers. This is true of individuals as well as of communities.

The author closes by remarking that only long acquaintance with and study of as many classes of a race as possible afford insight into its character. He points his application by speaking of the difficulty strangers have in comprehending the Russian soul, with its extremes of kindness and patience, and cruelty and hardness. It is even harder to penetrate the souls of non-European peoples and to avoid portentous errors of judgment respecting them.

The Ukrainian Movement

IN THE *Deutsche Rundschau* for February, Prof. Max Wolff, of Berlin, offers a short paper on this subject, which deserves careful analysis by anyone interested in the German mind and its political objectives. The prevailing form is that of historical retrospect—and prospect. The tone is most sympathetic and laudatory. The purpose is most clearly revealed, toward the close, in calm but frank words which nevertheless indicate the usual German consciousness of general hostility in the "Outland":

For Germany especially it is of the utmost importance that over against the Bolshevistic and essentially Asiatic power of Moscow, which is by its very nature anti-German, a self-centered Ukrainian state is shaping itself, which seeks relations with the West, and can serve as a bridge toward Asia. The nations of the Entente and their protégés have long appreciated the significance of the Ukraine, while Germany has not—though she has a precious moral asset in the sympathies of that people, which she must exploit before other states initiate an aggressive policy there. Because we are crippled in the West, we must not cripple ourselves to eastward, but must develop a policy with due regard to the altered conditions there. In that policy the Ukraine will prove the chief factor.

It is to introduce these words, calmly and cautiously uttered, that no listening Outlander may catch their full meaning and far-reaching purpose, that the whole graceful and well-written essay is planned, throwing a flattering spot-light on every incident or phase which may seem to reveal permanent underlying kinship to the German spirit. Even so, one inclines, at this distance, to the Scottish verdict "Not proven."

The writer raises at the beginning the vexed question of "dialect" and "language," arguing persuasively that neither well-marked peculiarity in race nor in idiom assures the nobler name, which belongs only to a people determined to work out their own destiny as a nation. Such a people, it is declared, will eventually mold a real language to express their peculiar ideals. This, it seems, is being rapidly achieved by ourselves, who are also credited, by the way, with pure Anglo-Saxon lineage! Yet a far older republic, perched aloof in its Alpine eyrie, has no pr attaining even to unity of

certainly Roumansh, its sole peculiar possession, remains a hopeless fourth: barely a "dialect." The test proposed, however, does explain excellently why all Ukrainian philologists, like the Norwegians, insist that they have a national language, while the scholars of Greater Russia are unanimous that it is a mere dialectic form of their own speech.

By the German writer, Ukraina is credited not merely with a nationality and a language, but with a wealth of early epic and heroic balladry rivaled only by the Serbs among all the Slavic clans. A race, indeed, we are told, of artists and patrons of art, such as the strong early influence upon it of degenerate Byzantium hardly makes intelligible, if even credible. Here, not at Moscow, even the Russian common law, and the church constitution had their real origin.

A vivid digression reminds us that, long after western Europe was comparatively settled and permanently divided, the boundless steppes of the Northeast, where even the northward-running rivers were rather bonds of connection than effective confines, were still given over to the hunter, the fisher, and the nomad herdsman, while the beginnings of permanent settlement were swept away by each new Asiatic horde, from the Huns down to the age of the Tartars, or even of the Turks. In all this whirl of change, Ukraina is described as, by comparison, the one early oasis of rooted nationality.

Like Serbia, and Bulgaria, the empire of Ukraina is the proud memory of one brief epoch, the central figure being Vladimir the Great, who from 980 to 1015 ruled all Russia from Kieff. Later, having been too hard beset and even brought into subjection by Lithuania and later by Poland, the nation made a treaty with the Czar by which they accepted his personal sovereignty or protectorate, but under a constitution as an autonomous—even independent—state. This occurred in 1654.

Since then the tale is one of unjustifiable aggression and subjugation. The free peasants, who under their own absolute monarchs had been landowners, and never serfs, are to this day a high-spirited race,

of voluntary exiles, have never yielded to the Russian tyranny.

With such premises, once fully established, the conclusion that Ukrainia must become again independent, "with an unbounded future before her," is obvious. It will be recalled that such a condition of things was actually set up at the time of Russia's collapse, but the last of the series of attempts to conquer Bolshevistic Russia, in its failure, carried with it the complete reconquest of Ukrainia from the North.

One aim, perhaps the chief immediate purpose, of such a paper as this undoubtedly is to make trouble in Poland, where the large minority of "Ruthenians" are Ukrainian in stock, speech, traditions and aspirations. The whole ethnical problem is a very large and serious one, and hardly seems to have attained a final and ideal solution. A "free" Ukrainia as a German "bridge to Asia" will hardly be generally accepted as that solution, however satisfying to German aspirations.

A New Adjunct of the Helium Airship

THERE is just one objection to the use of helium in place of hydrogen for filling airships. It is expensive. The cost of production at the Government's Fort Worth plant has recently averaged something like 10 cents a cubic foot, though, according to the Bureau of Mines, this figure will soon be reduced to about 3 cents a cubic foot. Even so, helium will be ten times as expensive as hydrogen, as produced on a large scale by the cheapest methods available. As Mr. C. F. Talman states the case in a recent number of the *Outlook*: "Whether, at this price, the Government is justified in using two million cubic feet of it to fill the *Shenandoah*, in place of perilous hydrogen, depends upon the valuation placed on the lives of the two-score gallant sailors who are bent on exploring polar wastes from the air."

A partial solution of this problem is found in a device concerning which rumors have been heard for a year or more, but which has been so slow in development that it has not even yet been installed on the *Shenandoah*. In an ordinary free balloon the only way of regulating the craft's altitude is to vary its buoyancy, by discharging gas or ballast, as the case may be. The dirigible is less dependent on these processes, because both climbing and descending can be accomplished, within certain limits, by means of the propellers, after the manner of the aeroplane. Nevertheless, even the dirigible normally "valves" a good deal of gas in the course of a long trip, not only for the sake of varying altitude or maintaining a given altitude under varying atmospheric conditions, but also and especially to affect the weight of the ship.

An airship like the *Shenandoah* starts a long trip with several tons of gasoline in her fuel tanks, and this is gradually expended in the course of the voyage. Here, then, is a reason for discharging large quantities of gas, but the necessity for this loss will be entirely eliminated by the new device above mentioned.

According to Mr. Starr Truscott, who traces the history of the invention in *U. S. Air Services* (Washington, D. C.), the idea involved is of British origin. He says:

Britain's first rigid airship was fitted with apparatus for keeping the weight of the ship constant by balancing the weight of the fuel burnt out by an equal weight of water condensed from the exhaust of the gasoline engines used in propulsion.

Pure gasoline consists entirely of hydrogen and carbon in several related combinations, but when it is burned, either in an engine or as a flame, the carbon combines with some of the oxygen of the air to form carbon dioxide, and the hydrogen, taking the other part of the oxygen, forms water. This water is at first in the form of superheated steam, but quickly cools and appears as droplets of hot water on the walls of any long exhaust pipes.

The amount of water recoverable by this process depends upon certain varying factors, but may be stated roughly to average about 1.3 pounds per pound of fuel consumed. The paradox of getting more water than you had gasoline to start with is, of course, explained by the fact that one ingredient of the water—oxygen—comes from the air.

Simultaneously with the beginning of work on the ZR-1—since named the *Shenandoah*—the Navy began work on the device to recover the water in the exhaust so that whatever the gas with which the ship was inflated it might as far as possible be conserved. The first experiments were

times somewhat similar to those using the exhaust steam from

engines. The apparatus was heavy and obviously could not be carried on an airship of the small size of the *ZR-1*, for it must be remembered that the *Shenandoah* is not large compared to the ships which will surely succeed her. It was finally concluded that the water recovery apparatus would have to be left off.

The Army Air Service, however, showed a desire to try its hand at the work in order to apply similar apparatus to the Army non-rigid airships. All the plans and data in the Navy's possession were accordingly turned over to the Army and its progress in the work was followed with keen interest.

Profiting by the Navy's experience the Army tried a somewhat different form of device and soon began to obtain promising results with a comparatively light apparatus. In cooperation with the Bureau of Standards this apparatus was given extensive tests and steadily refined and improved in efficiency. Finally it began to return as great a weight of water as the fuel burnt and the worst of the problems was solved.

The apparatus was installed on one of the "D" class airships which had been given to the Army by the Navy. It was found to function very well but was ungainly as it consisted of a large number of aluminum tubes about 60 feet long. Its weight

and bulk were too much to carry on a non-rigid; obviously it was suitable for a rigid airship only. Consequently work on this type was suspended.

The Navy again took up the work at the point where the Army and Bureau of Standards had left off. Employing the same engineer-physicist who had been responsible for the Army's success, and the complete information put at its disposal by the Army, a new design was prepared. It was much smaller than the old but equal, at least, in efficiency. This apparatus occupies a space above the car which is roughly a five-foot cube. Like the original it consists of many small aluminum tubes in which the exhaust gases are to be cooled and gradually give up the water which they contain. Running into a sump in the car this water will be pumped up into the ballast bags in the keel and thus balance the loss of weight due to the burning out of fuel.

Saving in gas will be chiefly noticeable on long flights, and possibly not even then. It is entirely possible to make a short flight of two to ten hours—depending on weather, speed and various other conditions—without valving any gas. By so selecting the hours of flight that the evening chill comes on just as one lands, the gas in the ship is cooled and contracted, decreasing the lift, and no valving may be necessary.

A New British Movement for Church Unity

AMONG the older readers of the *REVIEW OF REVIEWS* are doubtless some who recall the Grindelwald Conferences of thirty years ago, which were described in this magazine. The leading spirit in those conferences for Church union was Dr. Henry S. Lunn. That energetic Englishman, who has since become Sir Henry Lunn, has never lost interest in the effort to bring together all Christian organizations. Last August he inaugurated at Murren a conference of similar purpose to those held at Grindelwald, and one outcome of it was the formation of an editorial committee to carry on a new series of the *Review of the Churches*, as a quarterly publication.

The first number of this quarterly review appeared in January. Besides several pages of suggestive editorial notes, it contains Sir Henry Lunn's address on "The Churches and the World" at the Murren Conference; discussions of "The Church and the Industrial Problem," "The Church and Divorce," "The Drink Problem," "Gambling and Betting," "Prohibition in the United States," and other articles dealing with topics in which the British churches, both Established and Nonconformist, have, at the present time, a vital interest.

The spirit of the magazine and of its editor is clearly indicated in the following

sentences from Sir Henry Lunn's presidential address at Murren:

We are met on this plateau because we believe that the Church is concerned with the whole life of man. We have accepted as true what Socrates says in Plato's Republic when he compares the condition of the well-governed state to the condition of the body. He says: "If a man hurts his finger you do not say that the man's finger is in pain, but that the man is in pain in the finger." So we hold that if anything is wrong with the state the whole body politic in unison suffers pain and loss, diminished health and diminished efficiency. Therefore it is that in our program we have included questions which concern the relation of states to each other, of classes to each other, and of individuals to the state, and are, strictly speaking, outside the actual work of the Church.

If the Churches speak as one unit expressing the will of the whole Church, we can secure Christian legislation and decide in harmony with the will of God issues in national and international affairs. Rivalries between different regiments of the same army are justifiable in times of peace, but ought to have no place when war is declared. We are at war, and there is no room for our rivalries in the conflict in which we are engaged. We ought to be united as one army in our attack upon all the forces of evil in our midst. The Lambeth Conference of 1920 has bidden the members of the Anglican Communion everywhere to join with those who are not of her fold in the endeavor to hasten the coming of the Kingdom of God. May the Holy Spirit guide us as we seek to strengthen this great purpose in the hearts of all most closely united with us, and thus may we do something to heal the wounds in the Body of Christ, which is His Church, and to hasten the coming of the Kingdom of God.

News from Nature's World

The Shape and Position of the Eyes in Animals

TWO French naturalists writing in the *Bulletin of the Société de Biologie* make some interesting observations upon the shape and position of eyes in animals, considered in broad terms as the hunters and the hunted. In the former the eyes are placed in the front of the head and close together; they are deeply sunk in their sockets and further protected by dorsal ridges and by the powerful masticatory muscles at the sides of the head. We read:

Thus the binocular field of vision is large, while the panoramic field is very limited. In those hunters which lie in wait for their prey the pupil is a vertical ellipse, while in those who chase their prey it is round. Hunted animals, on the other hand, have their eyes placed at the sides of the head and very wide apart, while the orbits are shallow and are protected neither by ridges nor by the chewing muscles, which are usually comparatively weak in such animals, so that the eyes protrude from the orbits. The binocular field of vision in these animals is accordingly very small, or entirely lacking, while the panoramic field, on the contrary, embraces almost the entire horizon. This enables the fleeing animal at once to see where it is going while keeping its pursuer in view. In the best runners the pupil forms a horizontal ellipse which assists in broadening the field of vision: poor runners, however, which depend more upon craft for their safety, have round pupils. The frog, which is at once hunter and hunted, has frontally placed eyes, like the hunters, but they protrude and have crosswise elliptical pupils, as in the case of other hunted animals.

These curious observations make one wonder whether the prevalent prejudice against persons with eyes "too near together" is due to some subconscious atavistic association in the human mind with the similar placing of the eyes in beasts of prey.

The Smallest Animal Alive

Most of the primitive animals known as protozoa are microscopic in size, only three or four species being capable of observation by the naked eye and then only by means of a strong light and when placed against a black background. The largest of these visible species rejoices in the name of *Dileptus gigas*—but this miniature "giant" is only one-sixtieth of an inch long. Most of the species, indeed, are less than 1-254 of an inch in length. What, then, is the size

of the smallest among these minute creatures? This creature, whose scientific name is much longer than itself, is usually only 1-5000 of an inch in diameter and the well-known naturalist Leon A. Hausman states that he has found many individuals which measured only 1-12700 of an inch.

Yet this almost inconceivably small living being has a definite shape and well-known habits. Seen under a microscope, it is kidney-shaped and almost transparent, while from the depression on one side of the body spring two long filaments known as *flagella*, from the Latin word meaning whips. The creature moves by lashing these from side to side or up and down, thus achieving an irregular motion. Its very name, *Pleuromonas jaculans*, means "one-sided darting creature."

The animal lives in pools or ditches containing decomposing vegetation and Dr. Hausman says: "The presence of putrefactive bacteria seems to be a *sine qua non* of its existence." It is to be looked upon, therefore, as being of use in Nature's scheme of things. As Dr. Hausman observes in the *Scientific American*:

Each of these countless millions of animals is engaged in transforming dangerous decaying substance into animal protoplasm by feeding. . . . For they convert putrescence into a form in which it serves as food for larger protozoa and tiny crustaceans and thus they perform a real service in keeping in our waters a supply of food for the larger forms, such as fishes.

Duels Between Men and Beasts

The modern enlightened attitude of mankind with regard to animals is increasingly one of a sense of responsibility for the welfare and freedom from suffering of creatures lower in the scale than ourselves, in spite of the fact that they are extensively exploited for our comfort and convenience. This viewpoint offers a striking contrast to that of the Middle Ages, when animals were supposed in some sense to have a conscience and a knowledge of good and evil, so that in many cases they were arraigned at the bar of justice for their misdeeds, while in others formal combats or duels were arranged between men and animals. This subject is entertainingly treated by A. Mouquet in the *Revue d'Histoire naturelle appliquée* (Paris) for June, 1923. A. Mouquet, who is on the

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staff of the Paris Museum of Natural History, writes:

In the Middle Ages animals were not only haled before judges but were sometimes required to prove their innocence or their accusation (presumed) by taking part in a duel or judicial combat. It was believed that the will of God would be shown by the victory of the man or of the beast as the case might be. . . . Furthermore, they might be subjected to the tests of fire, of hot iron, of cold water or of boiling water, of the cross, etc., etc. The combat took place in a measured space enclosed by boards and bearing the name of the *chump-clos*.

The weapons to be employed were required to be free from enchantment and varied according to the social status of the combatants, who were required to take an oath to refrain from any sort of magic practises in order to gain the victory. The vanquished party, provided he escaped being slain by his adversary, was drawn upon a hurdle to the place of torture.

The author cites an extremely curious duel which took place in the 14th century, between one Richard de Macaire and the faithful dog of the Chevalier Aubry de Montdidier, who had been found assassinated in a stretch of woods. The persistence with which the dog, which is known to fame as the Dog of Montargis, attacked this person, directed suspicion towards him, and a duel was formally arranged between Macaire, armed with a club, and the dog having only his natural weapons, with a kennel into which he might take refuge. In this case the faithful hound was the victor.

In an article along similar lines in the same journal, but by M. Loyer, we read:

The immense majority of the men of this epoch believed in the moral responsibility of animals, in their conscience, in their will power. Certainly the animal did not have in the eyes of our ancestors a soul similar to their own; but they did not see in him a simple brute moved only by his instincts; they endowed him with a series of virtues, vices and passions, and regarded this *animal vilis* as a being inferior to themselves indeed, but nevertheless as a creature capable of thinking, of telling good from evil, of suffering temptation from the Evil One, and of becoming, upon occasion, in the hands of the latter, a source of affliction to mankind. . . . Animals being held responsible for their actions, it was quite natural to hold them to account before the bar of justice.

The Parrot Fish as a Ruminant

There is always a crowd around the tank at the Aquarium within which the parrot fish display their gay colors. Few of the visitors know, perhaps, that they are an excellent food fish. Pliny tells us

that it was most prized of all the finny tribe by epicureans and the Emperor Claudius was far-sighted enough to have specimens taken from their native home, the eastern shore of the Mediterranean, and transplanted on the western coast of Italy, where they were protected for five years—an early instance of the game preservation which is so burning a theme in modern times. But men of science are most interested because of the peculiar habit these fishes possess of chewing their cud so to speak. Their jaws, which are beak-shaped, are covered with teeth attached not only to the bone but to one



THE BLUE PARROT FISH (KEY WEST, FLA.)

another. They cannot grind their food with these teeth, to be sure, since, the jaws have only an up-and-down cutting motion, and indeed the edges of the jaws resemble knives in their keen cutting edges. But nature has kindly provided them with teeth of a special shape placed upon an irregular plate composed of the lower throat bones.

This tooth-bearing plate projects above the mucous membrane which surrounds it and the strong upper bones of the gullet are so attached that they can move back and forth in hollows at the base of the skull. These bones have three lengthwise rows of teeth corresponding to the dentated plates described above and the rubbing or grinding back and forth of these upper rows of teeth upon the lower ones enables the fish to produce a sort of grinding motion which helps it to "fletcherize" its food, vegetable in character, till it is reduced to a pulp. The fish lives chiefly on algæ, which it bites off from the rocks of the coral reefs where they grow. When it has collected a sufficient amount in its cheek pouches it forces it back by contracting the muscles thereof until it reaches the area where it can be chewed.

THE NEW BOOKS

American Politics and Social Life

The American Judge. By Andrew Alexander Bruce. Macmillan. 218 pp.

Judge Bruce's comment on our judicial system naturally includes suggestions for reform, and these are set forth in a striking way. Like many other experienced lawyers, Judge Bruce clearly discerns the evils of frequent elections to the bench. He asks that when a judge is up for reelection only his own record should decide the issue and not the aspirations of other candidates. The electorate would, under this arrangement, have an opportunity to affirm its confidence or lack of confidence in the judge as determined by his actions on the bench.

The Ku Klux Klan: a Study of the American Mind. By John Moffatt Mecklin. Harcourt, Brace and Company. 244 pp.

The Professor of Sociology at Dartmouth College, a Southerner by birth and a Northerner by adoption, has given a year's time to a special investigation of the Ku Klux Klan, and in this volume he tells what he has learned, at points where the Klan is most active in various parts of the country. The book includes also a chapter on the old Klan of Reconstruction days in the South. He finds that the methods employed in the Sixties have been in many instances closely followed by the modern organization. His conclusions are strongly against the secrecy of the modern Klan as un-American. And whether secrecy be retained or not, he fails to find any real justification for the Klan's existence.

Authentic History of the Ku Klux Klan. By Susan Lawrence Davis. American Library Service. 316 pp. Ill.

Those who wish to get the real story of the original Ku Klux Klan of Reconstruction days, as it was and is believed in the South itself, cannot do better than to read this account by Miss Davis, who is a member of the New York chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy. Many years ago she began to interview survivors of the Klan and after the death of Captain John C. Lester, who had been one of the founders, she was permitted to make use of the materials that he had gathered for a history of the organization.

Boss Platt and His New York Machine. By Harold F. Gosnell. With an Introduction by Charles E. Merriam. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 370 pp. Ill.

The greatest State political boss of his generation is the subject of this study. Dr. Gosnell examines the social, economic and political background of

Mr. Platt; studies his personal equipment; traces his training and achievements; examines the weapons that he used and the strategy and tactics that he followed, and attempts an estimate of his leadership as a matter of individual technique. The facts which make up in the main the raw material of the book, so to speak, are not wholly new to the public. Such books as those of former Congressman Alexander and the autobiographies of Platt and Roosevelt have supplied much of the information. The method of Dr. Gosnell's work, however, is distinctly his own. It approaches the cold-blooded, academic type of analysis.

Public Health in the United States: an Outline with Statistical Data. By Harry H. Moore. With an Introduction by Haven Emerson. Harper & Brothers. 557 pp. Ill.

The purpose of Harper's Public Health Series, edited by Dr. A. J. McLaughlin, of the U. S. Public Health Service, is to interest and stimulate public opinion in such a way as to bring about intelligent cooperation with public health officials. The book by Mr. Moore, who has long been associated with the Public Health Service, sets forth in concise form the facts regarding the human and economic costs of diseases. While it gives much attention to those diseases which have not yet been overcome and which the public itself must help the authorities to conquer, there are also chapters devoted to successful fights waged by science against disease and the beginnings of a scientific preventive medicine.

The Story of Detroit. By George B. Catlin. Detroit: The Detroit News. 764 pp.

Two hundred years ago the world-famed phrase, "f. o. b. Detroit," or its French equivalent, would doubtless have applied, if used at all, to a bale of furs instead of to an automobile. Detroit now ranks fourth among American cities in point of population. It has a million inhabitants—nearly as many as Chicago had in the year of the World's Fair. As a settlement, it is more than twice as old as Chicago, and is not many years the junior of Philadelphia. For the latter half of the last century Detroit ran a neck-and-neck race with Milwaukee among the Lake cities, and had been distanced by Cleveland. The motor-car industry has transformed the place during the past twenty years into a real metropolis. Many are now with us who in their own lifetimes have seen a ten-fold increase in Detroit's population. Few cities anywhere in the world have had a more dramatic rise to greatness. The romance of Detroit's story is preserved in this chronicle prepared by the librarian of the Detroit News, which is itself one of the city's noteworthy institutions.

Some Aspects of Italian Immigration to the United States. By Antonio Stella. With a Preface by Nicholas Murray Butler. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 124 pp. Ill.

A clear-cut and intelligent statement of facts which have a bearing on the value of Italian immigrants to the United States. Dr. Stella dwells on the high percentage of able-bodied men among the Italian immigrants, the selection by the Italian authorities in accordance with the standards of the United States immigration laws, the comparative freedom of Italians from the evils of alcoholism, insanity and pauperism and the fact that a very large percentage of the money earned by Italian immi-

grants here, even when it is transmitted to Italy, is returned to this country. President Nicholas Murray Butler, who is himself an advocate of selective immigration, comments in a foreword on the convincing quality of the facts presented.

American Problems: a Selection of Speeches and Prophecies. By William E. Borah. Duffield and Company. 329 pp.

Among the topics treated in these speeches of Senator Borah are "The Bonus and the Disabled Soldiers," "Lincoln the Orator," "The Need for Restricted Immigration," "Free Speech," "The League of Nations," "The Disarmament Conference Resolution," and "Recognition of Russia."

Modern Industry

The Packing Industry: a Series of Lectures Given Under the Joint Auspices of the School of Commerce and Administration of the University of Chicago and the Institute of American Meat Packers. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 357 pp. Ill.

Under the joint auspices of the School of Commerce and Administration of the University of Chicago and the Institute of American Meat Packers, a course of lectures was delivered at the University one year ago by eight men who are well known in the business of meat-packing. These lectures are published in the present volume. No one of them is a strictly specialized presentation of its topic, but each one gives a bird's-eye survey of a broad subject. From the eight lectures taken together the reader may get a conception of the industry as a whole, its history and general economics, its operations and equipment, methods of

financing, employment of science and procedure in distribution of the product.

Scales and Weighing: Their Industrial Applications. By Herbert T. Wade. The Ronald Press Company. 473 pp. Ill.

One of the few books in the English language dealing with the industrial applications of weighing machines. Mr. Wade, who has written frequently on engineering subjects for this REVIEW, has for years given special attention to the subject of weights and measures. His book brings together the latest information gathered from special official and technical reports, concerning weighing equipment. Managers of large industrial plants will find in it scientific descriptions of the various practical devices employed in the building of scales. The general reader is likely to be surprised on discovering the vital part played by weighing machinery in so many branches of modern industry and business.

Latin-American Facts

El Libro De Puerto Rico (The Book of Porto Rico). Editor, E. Fernández García. Co-Editors, Francis W. Hoadley, Eugenio Astol. San Juan, P. R.: El Libro Azul Publishing Company. 1188 pp. Ill.

For any one trying to inform himself about our insular territory of Porto Rico, this compendious volume has all the value of an encyclopædia, with many added attractions which an encyclopædia frequently lacks. The work has been prepared on the monograph plan. Virtually every field of human activity represented in the island has its own chapter or section in the book, written by the resident of Porto Rico who was adjudged on the whole the most competent person to treat of that special topic. The result is really a library of Porto Rican knowledge, although it is all comprised within a single volume. Although much stress is placed upon the present industrial and social situation, the history and background of the island are by no means neglected. In fact, one finds here presented more fully and graphically than in any other printed

book the past, present and future of the island, as visioned by the most intelligent and progressive Porto Ricans of to-day. The entire work appears in Spanish and English on alternate pages, and although not an official publication, is vouched for by the Porto Rican Delegation to the United States, created by virtue of a joint resolution of the Insular Legislature to demand a greater measure of self-government for the island. If a copy of this work could find a place in every public library in the United States, there is no doubt that the resulting effect on public sentiment throughout the country would go far to bring about the reforms desired by a large element of the island's population.

The South American Handbook: 1924. Including Central America, Mexico, and Cuba. Founded on "The Anglo-South American Handbook," by the late W. H. Koebel. London: South American Publications, Ltd. 626 pp.

This is a continuation, in a new form, of the work originally edited by Mr. William Henry

Koebel, the author of a score of books upon South America, several of which have been noticed in this REVIEW. Besides the South American countries, Central America, Mexico and Cuba are covered by the handbook, which gives full and definite information about routes of travel, hotel accommodations, and the various matters which directly concern the

tourist, whether his interests be commercial or merely those of the pleasure-seeker. There is a useful section on "Products of South America," as well as a chapter on animals and birds. An up-to-date map accompanies the handbook. The London publishers are represented in this country by Sanderson & Son, Inc., 26 Broadway, New York.

Other Timely Works

Greek Religion and Its Survivals. By Walter Woodburn Hyde. 230 pp. **Euripides and His Influence.** By F. L. Lucas. With an Introduction by R. W. Livingstone. 188 pp. **Seneca the Philosopher and His Modern Message.** By Richard Mott Gummere. 150 pp. (Our Debt to Greece and Rome Series.) Boston: Marshall Jones Company, 150 pp.

In the series entitled "Our Debt to Greece and Rome," one of the most important volumes thus far published is that devoted to "Greek Religion and Its Survivals." The author shows the remarkable influence exerted by ancient Greek religion on early Christianity. In the same series Mr. F. L. Lucas, of Kings College, Cambridge, deals with the influence of the Greek dramatist, Euripides, throughout the ages, and Dr. Richard M. Gummere briefly describes the influence of the Roman philosopher and statesman, Seneca.

The A B C of Atoms. By Bertrand Russell. E. P. Dutton & Company. 162 pp.

In this country Bertrand Russell is better known as an advocate of social reform than as a scientist. It was, however, in the departments of mathematics and philosophy that he first won university honors, and he has several books in those fields to his credit. His skill as a writer of clear and forceful English, frequently displayed in controversial writing, is put to good use in this little book, which may serve as a sort of introduction to modern physics. Since the discovery of radio-activity and the X-rays and the application of the spectroscope to the problem of the constitution of matter, scientists have greatly changed their ideas of the nature of the atom. Mr. Russell tells about these new speculations in language that is quite understandable by persons without technical training. A final chapter discusses the vexed question of relativity.

Government and Politics of Belgium. By Thomas Harrison Reed. Yonkers-on-Hudson: World Book Company. 197 pp.

Before the war a few students of political science had examined Belgium's electoral system, but in the disasters of 1914 those studies were forgotten, and this little book by Professor Reed comes as a reminder of those distinctive features of the Belgian political system with which all Americans should be acquainted. In the matter of the suffrage, especially, Belgium has much to teach the world. Belgium long ago gave proportional representation and compulsory voting the first real try-out on an important scale. Although Belgium is a king-

dom, it is a country that has long been "safe for democracy."

The Story of a Great Schoolmaster. By H. G. Wells. Macmillan. 176 pp. Ill.

American readers will be interested in this account of the headmaster of a great English school because Mr. Wells himself found in him the exponent of advanced ideas in education. He was a man who had "a vision of the school as a center for the complete reorganization of civilized life." Besides being a great schoolmaster, Sanderson was, says Mr. Wells, the only man he ever met whose biography he cared to write.

Public Speaking: a Natural Method. By Frank Home Kirkpatrick. George H. Doran Company. 176 pp.

A practical book on public speaking, not "oratory." The old-fashioned manuals on this subject are no longer in demand. What is needed now is a text-book that will direct the speaker towards naturalness of expression. Professor Kirkpatrick's book does this admirably. One of its best features is the apt illustrations that have been selected from famous speeches and addresses in times past.

Public Speaking for Business Men. By William G. Hoffman. McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc. 300 pp.

A book full of definite, practical suggestions to the business man who is called upon to address any type of modern assembly from a Rotary Club to a meeting of the executives of the large corporations. It directs the reader to the best ways of gathering and selecting material, preparing the speech and winning the sympathy and good-will of the audience. The author's purpose seems to have been to make a guide, rather than a handbook.

The Debater's Guide: Revised and Enlarged. By John H. Arnold. Harrisburg, Pa.: Handy Book Corporation. 315 pp.

With the renewed interest in collegiate debating in this country, there comes a fresh demand for an up-to-date book of advice to members of high-school and college debating clubs and to their instructors as well. Such a guide has been prepared by Mr. John H. Arnold, as the result of ten years' correspondence with high-school and college debating clubs throughout the United States. One chapter of the book is devoted to a classification of debatable propositions and another to a list of references to articles in periodicals, presenting the pros and cons of timely questions.